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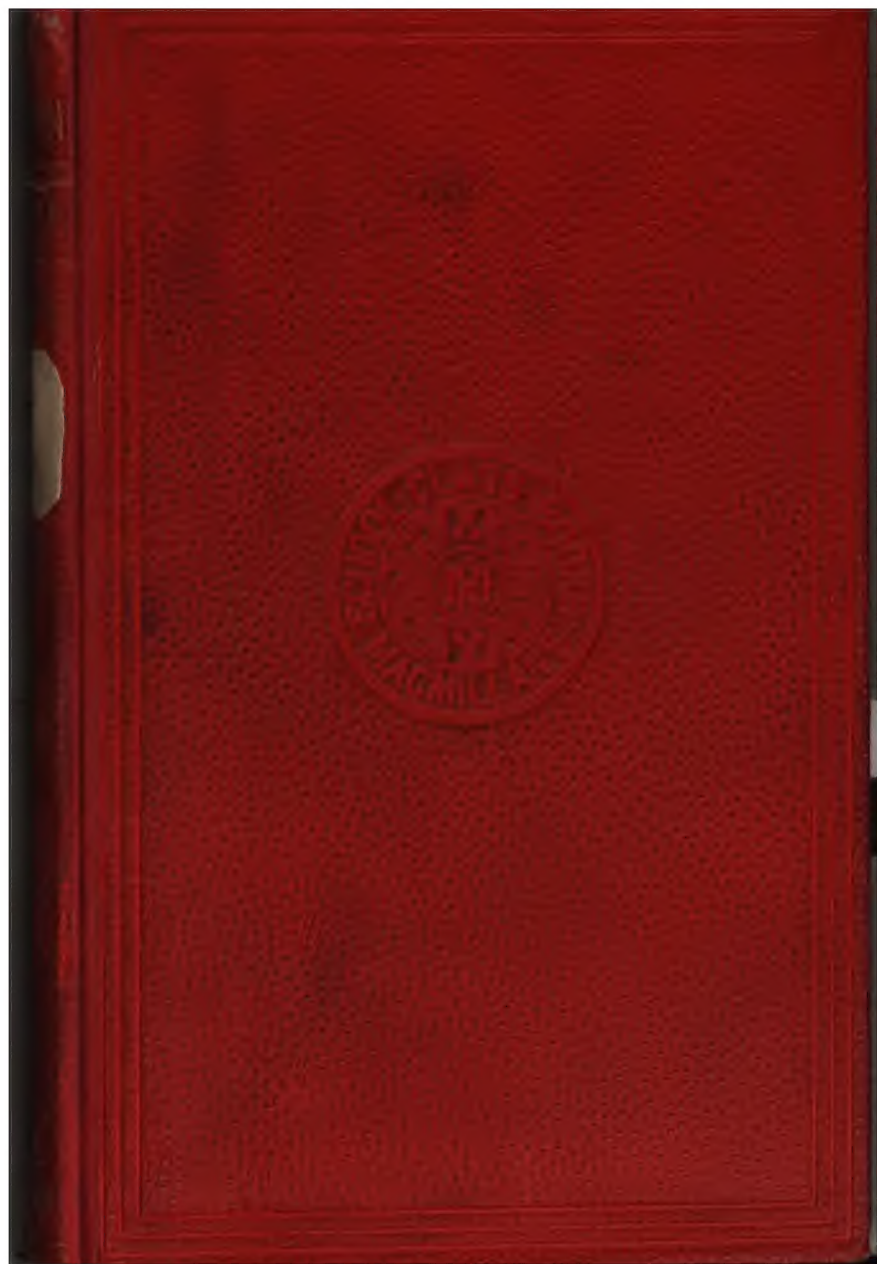
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ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ
ΙΕΡΩΝ Η ΤΥΡΑΝΝΙΚΟΣ
HOLDEN



ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ
ΙΕΡΩΝ Η ΤΥΡΑΝΝΙΚΟΣ

THE *HIERON* OF XENOPHON

The Text adapted for the use of Schools

WITH INTRODUCTION SUMMARIES
CRITICAL AND EXPLANATORY NOTES AND INDEXES

BY THE

REV. HUBERT A. HOLDEN M.A. LL.D.

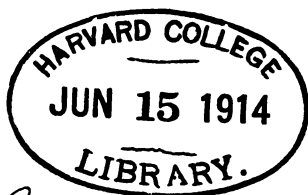
EXAMINER IN GREEK TO THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON
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THIRD EDITION

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PREFACE TO THIRD EDITION

AMONG the neglected minor writings of Xenophon one of the most graceful and interesting is the *Hieron*. Cobet speaks of it as *venustissimus libellus*, and the passage in it which describes the change from the contentment of private life to the anxieties of sovereignty (cap. vi §§ 1—8) has been pronounced by Prof. Mahaffy in his *History of Greek Literature* to be perhaps the most striking in all our remains of Xenophon.

Interesting, however, though the *Hieron* undoubtedly is, as contributing, along with Plato's *Republic*, Aristotle's *Politics* and Herodotus' discussion of the Seven Conspirators to our mental picture of the Greek tyrant—it had never before been edited with notes in English, or as a separate work, until I published an edition in 1883; and it is nearly forty years since the last annotated edition appeared in Germany. The dialogue is admirably suited to School purposes, and, the only objection that could be raised to its use having been removed

in this edition, I hope that its present form will secure it a more favourable reception.

The explanatory notes have been throughout carefully revised ; new matter has been added, while of the old, compression here, expansion there, and, where necessary, excision have been employed unsparingly. Reference has been made throughout to Hadley-Allen's grammar, as well as that of Prof. Goodwin.

In settling the text I have adopted a course midway between the conservatism of Sauppe and the bold criticism of Cobet and C. Schenkl. An editor of any portion of Xenophon's work is placed in considerable difficulty. No writer probably has suffered more from the glosses of scholiasts and the ignorance of copyists importing the usages of their own day into his text ; and on the other hand there is practically, as Mr Rutherford boldly avows, no standard of criticism possible for him. For although many later writers have commended his style as the perfection of Attic, calling him the 'Attic bee,' 'the Attic Muse' and so forth, it is certain that we cannot reasonably apply the same standard to him as may be justly applied to Aristophanes, Plato and the Orators.

Demosthenes speaks of Athenians losing the Attic purity of diction by absence from Athens, and Xenophon is a conspicuous example of this, often indeed quoted by the Greeks themselves e.g. Helladios (a grammarian of the 5th century A.D.), who remarks that 'it is not a matter of wonder that a man like

Xenophon, who spent his time in military service and in intercourse with foreigners, should occasionally adulterate his mother-tongue; on which account no one should consider him as an authority on Atticism.' He must have picked up in his wanderings many Laconian and Ionian expressions and many old words uncongenial to Attic, which reappear mostly in the common dialect (*κοινή διάλεκτος*), to which his style distinctly approximates.

Hence it is difficult to exhibit a satisfactory Text, for, to use Sauppe's words (*de Xenophontis vita et scriptis Commentatio*, Opp. vol. 1 p. xvi), 'aut metuentum est, ne constanter restituta antiquioris atticismi integritate orationis colorem exstinguas scriptoris proprium, quem ab ea descivisse iam olim concessum sit, aut cavendum, ne elegantissimo laudatissimoque scriptori congestarum ex omnibus fere dialectis formarum turpem varietatem iniungas, quaerendumque ubique, quæ legentem offendant aut parum emendate scripta videantur utrum tribuenda ei an eximenda sint.'

H. A. H.

LONDON

March 10 1888

ADDENDA

P. 54 ch. iv § 5 l. 27 *add.*:—We know from Xen. (*Hell.* vi iv 32) that the murderers of Jason of Pherae, who was not an oppressive ruler (*Diod.* xv 61), were publicly honoured in most of the Greek states they visited (*Xen. Hell.* vi iv 32). On the other hand in the same work (*vii* iii 12) we are told that the memory of Euphron, tyrant of Sikyon, was idolized by his subjects, who buried him in the agora and worshipped him as the second founder of their state.

Popular hatred is unequivocally expressed in the conduct of the Agrigentines, who forbade their citizens to wear the colour which had been worn by the body-guards of their tyrant Phalaris. But heroic honours were awarded to Gelon and Theron (*Diod.* xi 38, 53); and their names with those of a Kypselus, a Kleisthenes and a Peisistratus have been handed down to posterity with the glory they deserve. *NEWMAN Aristotle's Politics* Vol. i p. 544.

P. 70 ch. vii § 11 l. 61 *add.*:—Polybius records the voluntary abdication of Iseas, tyrant of Karuneia, about B.C. 281 a century and more after the composition of this dialogue. See his *Hist.* ii 42, where Mr Capes observes 'Few usurpers could safely abdicate in Greece, as no constitutional forms could be observed in transferring the power which had no legal basis. The story of Maeandrius of Samos (*Herod.* iii 142) illustrates the difficulty of such abdication; the language of the historian in the case of Cadmus of Cos shows that it was very rare in the earlier period (*Herod.* vii 164, 1)'. Cp. the remarks of Grote (*Hist. of Greece*, Vol. xi p. 212 ed. 1) on the resignation of Dionysius the younger.

P. 76 ch. viii § 10 l. 48: *add.*:—Cf. *Arist. Polit.* iii c. 9 p. 1285a, 24 *καὶ ἡ φυλακὴ δὲ βασιλικὴ καὶ οὐ τυραννικὴ διὰ τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίαν. οἱ γὰρ πολλοὶ φυλάττουσιν ὅπλους τοὺς βασιλεῖς, τοὺς δὲ τυράννους ξενικόν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ κατὰ νόμον καὶ ἐκόντων οἱ δ' ἀκόντων ἔρχουσιν.*

P. 78 ch. ix § 3 l. 11 *add.*:—Cf. *Plutarch Philop.* c. 7, 4 *κατ' ἄνδρα τῶν νέων ἕκαστον ἐπὶ τὴν φιλοτιμίαν συνεξορμῶν καὶ κολάζων τοὺς ἀνάγκης δεομένους, and for 'coercion' read 'pressure'.*

P. 81 ch. ix § 9 l. 45 *add.*:—The recommendations of Simonides may have been present, as is suggested by Mr Newman, to Aristotle's mind, when he wrote, expressing his disapproval of the proposition to award honours to those who claimed to have discovered something advantageous to the state (*Pol.* ii 8 p. 1268b, 22): *περὶ δὲ τοῦ τοῖς εὐρίσκουσὶ τι τῇ πόλει συμφέρον ὥς δεῖ γίνεσθαι τινα τιμὴν, οὐκ ἔστιν ἀσφαλὲς τὸ νομοθετεῖν, ἀλλ' εὐδόθαλλον ἀκούσαι μόνον· ἔχει γὰρ συκοφαντίας καὶ κινήσεις, ἃν γίγῃ, πολιτείας.*

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INTRODUCTION

1. *The object of the dialogue*

THE general scope of the *Hieron*¹, which is a treatise thrown into the form of a dialogue between Hieron, tyrant of Syracuse, and Simonides of Keos, the celebrated lyric poet, is the same as that of the historical romance of the *Cyropaedeia* in which Xenophon has set out his own theories of an ideal monarchy. The subject which he treats of is the species of monarchy which the Greeks called τυραννίς, i.e. 'a Despotism founded on the overthrow of constitutional government.' But in its tendency it is ethic rather than political. 'It examines' says Mure² 'neither the modes in which a tyranny may originate, nor the policy by which the constitutional party may best counteract the despot's schemes or undermine the tyrannical government in its turn. The argument is mainly directed against the vulgar opinion, that the possession of tyrannical power, with its unlimited sources of personal gratification, is necessarily a source of happiness.' 'It illustrates

¹ The alternative title τυραννικός, like that of οἰκονομικός, κυνηγετικός and ἱππαρχικός, agrees with λόγος understood.

² *Hist. of Grecian Literature*, Vol. IV p. 428.

what Xenophon calls the torment of Tantalus—the misery of a despot who has to extort obedience from unwilling subjects;—especially if the despot be one who has once known the comfort and security of private life, under tolerably favourable circumstances. If we compare this dialogue with the Platonic *Gorgias*, where a very analogous thesis is handled in respect to Archelaus—we shall find Plato soaring into a sublime ethical region of his own, measuring the despot's happiness and misery by a standard peculiar to himself and making good what he admits to be a paradox by abundant eloquence covering faulty dialectic: while Xenophon applies to human life the measure of a rational common sense, talks about pleasures and pains which every one can feel to be such and points out how many of these pleasures the despot forfeits, how many of these pains and privations he undergoes,—in spite of that great power of doing hurt, and less power, though still considerable, of doing good, which raises the envy of spectators. The *Hieron* gives utterance to an interesting vein of sentiment, more common at Athens than elsewhere in Greece—serving as a corrective protest against unqualified worship of power³.

What was Xenophon's design in composing this

³ Grote, *History of Plato and the other Companions of Socrates* Vol. III p. 577. Cp. Lermnier, *Histoire des législateurs et des constitutions de la Grèce antique*, Tome I p. 154 f: Xénophon n'a ni l'austère gravité d'Aristote, ni la dramatique véhémence de Platon, mais peut-être dans le *Hiéron*, où son style et ses peintures ont une réalité si pénétrante, s'est-il montré plus vrai que ces deux grands génies qui le dépassent par tant d'autres côtés.

dialogue, and why he should have represented Simonides as advising the tyrant who had hitherto pursued a course of violence and rigour to try a milder and more refined policy, at a time when all despotic governments in Greece had come to an end, is a problem which cannot be solved. The solution suggested by Delbruech⁴ in his *Apology for Xenophon*, viz. that the contemporaneous events in Thessaly gave occasion to it, is a plausible one and deserves to be considered. Some time during Xenophon's retreat at Skillus⁵, where so many of his works were produced, Jason was engaged in the struggles against the old aristocratic families of Thessaly, which ended in his becoming tyrant of Pherae and ultimately in 374 B.C. sovereign (ταγός) of the whole country, with the exception of Pharsalus (of which Polydamas was ruler), and his power became so great, that it excited much apprehension in Greece. Letronne⁶

⁴ Xenophon. *Zur Rettung seiner durch B. G. Niebuhr gefährdeten Ehre*, 1829, p. 93.

⁵ In Elis, some miles south of Olympia, where an estate had been assigned to him by the Lacedaemonians, which they had wrested from the Eleans. See *Anab.* v 3, 7.

⁶ Il est bien possible que le choix d'un tel sujet se rattache au voyage que l'auteur a dû faire en Sicile, puisque Athénée rapporte un mot de Xénophon, fils de Gryllus, à la table de Denys le tyran (x p. 427—8). C'est, il est vrai, la seule trace qui existe d'un tel voyage: mais, comme il n'a rien que de très-vraisemblable à cette époque où tant d'Athéniens visitaient Syracuse, nous n'avons réellement aucun motif de le rejeter. Denys l'ancien a régné de 406 à 367; dans le cours de ces trente-neuf années, il n'y a guère que deux intervalles qui conviennent à ce voyage, celui de 405 à 401, année du départ de Xénophon pour l'Asie; et celui de 399 à 394, qui comprend

suggests that Xenophon may have been led to write the dialogue by what he saw at the court of Dionysius the elder, who was tyrant of Syracuse from B.C. 406 to B.C. 367; and there is a story of his having visited Sicily in the lifetime of the tyrant. Grote⁷

l'espace entre son retour d'Asie et son départ pour aller rejoindre Agésilas. Il est difficile de se décider entre l'un et l'autre; nous penchons néanmoins pour le premier; mais quelque opinion qu'on adopte à cet égard, il nous paraît assez probable que la rédaction de l'*Hiéron* doit se rattacher à ce voyage. Xénophon, de retour de Syracuse, l'âme encore toute remplie du spectacle des inquiétudes de Denys et des moyens violents qu'il employait pour maintenir son autorité naissante, a pu concevoir l'idée de ce dialogue, l'un des plus parfaits écrits qui soient sortis de sa plume sous le rapport de la diction et de l'enchaînement des pensées. Dans cette hypothèse l'*Hiéron* aurait été composé entre 404 et 401, sous les yeux et peut-être par les conseils même de Socrate. L'auteur était alors âgé de quarante ans.—*Biographie Universelle*, Tome xlv p. 188 a, 1851. But according to Grote *l.c.* p. 578 the tenor of the anecdote points to the younger Dionysius: if so, the visit must have been later than 367 B.C., and therefore subsequent probably to the composition of the *Hieron*.

⁷ 'That the Syracusan Hieron should be elected as an exemplifying name, may be explained by the circumstance, that during 38 years of Xenophon's mature life (405—367 B.C.) Dionysius the elder was despot of Syracuse; a man of energy and ability, who had extinguished the liberties of his native city, and acquired power and dominion greater than that of any living Greek. Xenophon, resident at Skillus, within a short distance from Olympia, had probably seen (Anab. v iii 11) the splendid Theôry (or sacred legation of representative envoys) installed in rich and ornamented tents, and the fine running horses sent by Dionysius at the xcixth Olympic festival (384 B.C.); but he probably also heard the execration with which the name of Dionysius himself had been received by the

also and Lermnier⁸ hold like opinions as to the origin of the dialogue.

2. *On the interlocutors of the dialogue*

There were two tyrants of Syracuse named Hieron, one who reigned from 478 to 467 B.C.; the other, from 270 to 216 B.C., the great ally of the Romans in their struggle against the Carthaginians. The one who gives his name to the present dialogue was the elder of the two, son of Deinomenês⁹ and brother of Gelon, the tyrant of Gela and subsequently of Syracuse, who was renowned for his great victory over the Carthaginians at Himëra in 480 B.C.¹⁰, spectators, and he would feel that the despot could hardly show himself there in person. There were narratives in circulation about the interior life of Dionysius, analogous to those statements which Xenophon puts into the mouth of Hieron. A predecessor of Dionysius as despot of Syracuse and also as patron of poets, was therefore a suitable person to choose for illustrating the first part of Xenophon's thesis—the countervailing pains and penalties which spoilt all the value of power, if exercised over unwilling and repugnant subjects.—*l. c.* p. 577.

⁸ Platon, qui à Syracuse fut l'hôte des deux Denys, n'avait qu'à recueillir ses souvenirs pour peindre le gouvernement arbitraire des tyrans, leurs calculs, leurs transes et l'espèce de fatalité qui les emprisonnait. Un autre disciple de Socrate, Xénophon rapporta également de Syracuse des impressions qui lui servirent à composer un de ces ouvrages aimables et courts dans lesquels les anciens mariaient la raison et la grâce avec un charme ineffable. *l. c.* p. 153.

⁹ Pindar *Pyth.* i 79, ii 18.

¹⁰ Herod. vii 166. Diodorus Siculus (xi 25) tells us that the number of captives taken by Gelon was so great ὥστε δοκεῖν ὑπὸ τῆς νῆσου γεγονέναι τὴν Λιβύην ὅλην αἰχμάλωτον. The conditions of the peace were so much more favourable than the

—popularly put on the same day as the battle of Salamis, but really won somewhat earlier—by which he obtained a great accession of power and influence. Hieron's share in the glory of that day was commemorated by his brother in the inscription at Delphi which recorded his triumph¹¹.

The accounts of Hieron's succession to the kingdom of his brother vary. It is stated by Diodorus Siculus¹² that Gelon appointed him his successor. According to others, however, Gelon left an infant son, whom Hieron, his guardian, displaced and thus became an usurper. Hieron's rule was more severe and tyrannical than that of his elder brother and he became jealous of his more popular brother Polyzeilos, who was at the head of the army and had married

Carthaginians expected owing to the intervention of Gelon's wife Demaretê (ib. c. 26), that in gratitude they presented her with a hundred talents of gold, from the proceeds of which were struck, circa B.C. 479, the celebrated Syracusan medallions or properly speaking Pentekontalitra or Dekadrachms (pieces of 50 litrae or 10 Attic drachms) surnamed Demareteia (Simonides fr. 196 ed. Schneidewin). See Mr B. V. Head's interesting monograph on the *Chronological Sequence of the Coins of Syracuse*, p. 8, London, 1874, also his *Historia numorum*, p. 151.

¹¹ Schol. on Pind. *Pyth.* i 80, φασὶ δὲ τὸν Γέλωνα τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς φιλοφρονούμενον ἀναθεῖναι τῷ θεῷ χρυσοῦς τρίποδας ἐπιγράφαντα ταῦτα

Φημί Γέλων', Ἰέρωνα, Πολύζηλον, Θρασύβουλον,
παῖδας Δεινομένους, τὸν τρίποδ' ἀνθέμεναι,
βάρβαρα νικήσαντας ἔθνη· πολλὴν δὲ παρασχεῖν
σύμμαχον Ἑλλήσιν χεῖρ' ἐς ἐλευθερίην.

¹² xi c. 38 ὁ βασιλεὺς Γέλων ὑπὸ ἀρρωστίας συνεχόμενος καὶ τοῦ ζῆν ἀπελπίας τὴν βασιλείαν παρέδωκεν Ἰέρωνι τῷ πρεσβυτάτῳ τῶν ἀδελφῶν.

Demaretê, widow of the late tyrant and daughter of Theron tyrant of Agrigentum. Hieron is said to have sent him on a military expedition to Italy or Sicily, in hopes that he might fall in war. His design was unsuccessful and Hieron's suspicion and jealousy led ultimately to an open quarrel between the brothers, when Polyzelos took refuge with his father-in-law. Theron was about to support his cause by an armed intervention when the brothers became reconciled by the mediation, it is said, of Simonides, and Hieron in the end married Theron's sister¹³.

We have nothing but fragmentary notices of the events of the reign of Hieron, but, such as they are, they suffice to attest his great power and influence. In Sicily he was not only master of Syracuse, Gela, Kamarina and Megara Hyblaea, which cities had been under the sway of Gelon, but he obtained pos-

¹³ Schol. ad Pindar. *Olymp.* ii 37 : ὁ Θήρων οὗτος, Ἀκραγαντίνων βασιλεύων, Γέλωνι τῷ Ἱέρωνος ἀδελφῷ ἐπικηδεύσας γάμψυ συνάπτει τὴν αὐτοῦ θυγατέρα, Δημαρέτην. τοῦ δὲ Γέλωνος τελευτήσαντος Πολύζηλος ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ τὴν βασιλείαν καὶ τὴν γαμετὴν αὐτοῦ διαδέχεται. λαμπρῷ δὲ ὄντι αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν Σικελίαν Ἱέρων ὁ ἀδελφὸς φθονήσας καὶ προφασισάμενος τὸν πρὸς Συβαρίτας πόλεμον, ἐξάγει τοῦτον τῆς νήσου. κατωρθώκτος οὖν καὶ τοῦτον τὸν πόλεμον Πολυζήλου ὁ Ἱέρων, οὐκ ἔχων ὅ τι καὶ γένοιτο, πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπειράτο νεωτερίζειν. Θήρων οὖν, ὑπεραγανακτῆσας θυγατρὸς ἅμα καὶ γαμβροῦ, συρράζει πρὸς Ἱέρωνα ἡβούλετο πόλεμον, ὃν Σιμωνίδης ὁ λυρικός καταπαύει διαλλάξας, ὡς καὶ κηδεῖαν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ποιήσασθαι, Ἱέρωνος λαβόντος τὴν τοῦ Θήρωνος ἀδελφήν. Diodoros (xi 48) gives rather a different version of the story. He states that Theron abandoned his hostile intentions out of gratitude to Hieron for betraying the designs of the people of Himera, who had rebelled against the tyranny of Thrasydaeos, their governor, son of Theron, and sought the aid of Hieron.

session also of the powerful cities of Naxos and Katana. The inhabitants of the two latter were removed to Leontini, and he peopled them with Syracusan and other Dorians, giving Katana the new name of Aetna¹⁴. His influence extended as far as Magna Graecia, for we find him interposing in the affairs of the cities there on two several occasions, when he prevented the destruction of Locri by Anaxilas, tyrant of Rhegium, without armed intervention, and again, when he procured the retirement of Mikythos from Rhegium in favour of the two sons of the same Anaxilas¹⁵. An attempt of Thrasydaeos on the death of his father Theron in 472 B.C.

¹⁴ Diod. Sic. xi 49 'Ιέρων δὲ τοὺς τε Ναξίους καὶ τοὺς Καταναίους ἐκ τῶν πόλεων ἀναστήσας ἰδίους οἰκήτορας ἀπέστειλεν, ἐκ μὲν Πελοποννήσου πεντακισχιλίου ἀθροίσας, ἐκ δὲ Συρακουσῶν ἄλλους τοσούτους προσθεὶς καὶ τὴν μὲν Κατάνην μετωνόμασεν Αἴτην, τὴν δὲ χώραν οὐ μόνον τὴν Καταναίαν ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλὴν τῆς ὁμόρου προσθεὶς κατεκληρούχησε, μυρίους πληρώσας οἰκήτορας. . . . Τοὺς δὲ Ναξίους καὶ τοὺς Καταναίους ἐκ τῶν πατρίδων μετώκισεν εἰς τοὺς Λεοντίνους καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἐγχωρίων προσέταξε κατοικεῖν τὴν πόλιν. Schol. on Pindar Pyth. i l. 118 ἀνακτίσας τὴν Κατάνην ὁ 'Ιέρων καὶ Αἴτην μετονομάσας, διοικεῖν Δεινομένει τῷ υἱῷ ταύτην δέδωκεν ἐν νόμοις τῆς Δωρίδος στάθμης. Schol. ad Ol. i 35, Pyth. i l. 1 τὴν Κατάνην ἀνακτίσας ὁμωνύμως τῷ παρακειμένῳ ὄρει Αἴτναν προσηγόρευσε καὶ Αἴτναϊον ἑαυτὸν κατὰ τοὺς ἀγῶνας νικῶν ἀνεκήρυξεν. Hence in a fragment 71, 2, quoted by Strabo vi p. 412 A, Pindar addresses him as Κρίστορ Αἴτνας. Cf. Nem. ix 3.

¹⁵ Schol. ad Pind. Pyth. i 98 ὅτι δὲ 'Αναξίλαος Λόκρους ἠθέλησεν ἄρδην ἀπολέσαι καὶ ἐκωλύθη πρὸς 'Ιέρωνα, ἱστορεῖ καὶ 'Επίχαρμος ἐν Νάσοις, ib. ii 34 'Αναξίλα τοῦ Μεσσήνης καὶ 'Ρηγίου τυράννου Λοκροῦς πολεμοῦντος, 'Ιέρων πέμψας Χρόμμον τὸν κηδεστὴν διηπέλησεν αὐτῷ, εἰ μὴ καταλύσαιτο τὸν πρὸς αὐτοὺς πόλεμον, αὐτὸς πρὸς τὸ 'Ρήγιον στρατεύειν.

to attack Syracuse ended in his complete defeat by Hieron and ultimate downfall¹⁶. But Hieron's chief glory dates from his great victory in a sea-fight 474 B.C. with the Etruscans¹⁷ near Kume in which he shattered the naval power of the people, to whose early *θαλαττοκρατία* the Tyrrhenum Mare owed its name.

The government of Hieron appears from the accounts of ancient writers to have been considerably more severe and despotic than that of his father. Diodorus after praising the mildness and peaceful end of Gelon's reign uses very different language about

¹⁶ Diod. Sic. xi 53.

¹⁷ To this Pindar Pyth. i 71 ff. refers :

λίσσομαι, νεῦσον, Κρονίων, ἄμερον
 ὄφρα κατ' οἶκον ὁ Φοῖνιξ ὁ Τυρσανῶν τ' ἀλαλατὸς ἔχη, ναυσίστο-
 νον ὕβριν ἰδὼν τὰν πρὸ Κύμας·
 οἷα Συρακοσίων ἀρχῇ δαμασθέντες πάθον,
 ὠκυπόρων ἀπὸ ναῶν ὃ σφιν ἐν πόντῳ βάλεθ' ἀλικίαν,
 Ἐλλάδ' ἐξέλκων βαρείας δουλείας,

i.e. 'grant, I beseech thee, my prayer, son of Kronos, that the war-party (lit. war-cry) of the Phoenician and Tyrrhenian hosts may remain in peace and quiet at home, now that they have witnessed the discomfiture of their fleet off Cumae, in what plight they were when vanquished by the lord of Syracuse, who cast into the sea the flower of their youth from off the swift-sailing ships, so drawing Hellas (Magna Graecia) out of the heavy yoke of bondage.' Cf. Diod. Sic. xi 51. A bronze helmet, now in the British Museum, was found at Olympia in A.D. 1817, with the following inscription :

Ἰάρων ὁ Δεινομένεος
 καὶ τοὶ Συρακόσιοι
 τῷ Δι Τυράν' ἀπὸ Κύμας,

(Böckh *C.I.G.* 16, Hicks' *Manual* no. 15) where Τυράν' is for τὸ Τυρράνδ, 'the Etruscan spoils.'

Hieron. He says¹⁸: 'Ιέρων, ὁ πρεσβύτατος τῶν ἀδελφῶν, οὐχ ὁμοίως ἦρχε τῶν ὑποτεταγμένων· ἦν γὰρ φιλάργυρος καὶ βίαιος καθόλου τῆς ἀπλότητος καὶ καλοκάγαθίας τὰδελφοῦ ἀλλοτριώτατος. Pindar in the four Odes, in which he celebrates the victories won by Hieron at the Olympian and Pythian games, cautions him against particular faults e.g. pride such as ruined Tantalus¹⁹, avarice²⁰, encouragement of flatterers²¹, and presumption²², and exhorts him to liberality and moderation in his desires. Aristotle also in his Politics²³ makes a passing allusion to his jealous and

¹⁸ xi 67.

¹⁹ Ol. i 54—57

εἰ δὲ δὴ τιν' ἀνδρα θνατὸν Ὀλύμπου σκοποὶ
ἐτίμασαν, ἦν Τάνταλος οὗτος· ἀλλὰ γὰρ καταπέψαι
μέγαν δλβον οὐκ ἐδυνάσθη, κόρῃ δ' ἔλεν
ἄταν ὑπέροπλον,

i.e. 'for surely, if ever there was a mortal man that the guardians of Olympus honoured, that man was Tantalos. But he was not able to digest his great happiness, but through excess of it he got an overwhelming woe.'

²⁰ Pyth. i 90—94

εἴπερ τι φιλεῖς ἀκοᾶν ἡδεῖαν αἰεὶ κλύειν, μὴ κάμνε λίαν δαπάναις·
ἔξειε δ' ὥσπερ κυβερνάτας ἀνὴρ
ἱστῖον ἀνεμῶεν. μὴ δολωθῇς, ὦ φίλος, εὐτραπέλοισι κέρδεσσι
. . . . οὐ φθίνει Κροίσου φιλόφρων ἀρετά,

i.e. 'if you care to hear at all times a pleasing report of yourself, be not troubled too much about expenses, but like a pilot let out your sail to the wind. Be not deceived, my friend, by juggling gains...Croesus' kindness and generosity is not forgotten.'

²¹ Pyth. ii 72 ff.

²² Pyth. iii 55 ff.

²³ v p. 1313^b, 14. Cf. προσαγωγεῖς Plut. Dion. c. 2 and c. 28.

suspicious temper, as shown in the system of espionage which he established and the employment of 'tale-bearers' (*ποταγωγίδες*, as they were called at Syracuse) and 'eaves-droppers' (*ὠτακουσταί*). Xenophon²⁴ himself puts into his mouth this confession: *οἱ τύραννοι ἀναγκάζονται πλείστα συλᾶν ἀδίκως καὶ ἱερὰ καὶ ἀνθρώπους διὰ τὸ εἰς τὰς ἀναγκαίας δαπάνας αἰεὶ προσδεῖσθαι χρημάτων*, from which and from the admonitions addressed to him by Simonides it may be inferred that Hieron did not abstain from rapine and sacrilege and that there was much in his conduct towards his subjects, which was generally regarded with disapprobation. On the other hand there are not wanting proofs that, with this alloy of baseness in his character, he had some considerable merits. Thus, Pindar bestows praises on his gentleness and hospitality²⁵, his justice²⁶,

²⁴ iv 11.

²⁵ Pyth. iii 70 ff.—

*ὃς Συρακόσσαισι νέμει βασιλεὺς
πραῦς ἀστοῖς, οὐ φθονέων ἀγαθοῖς, ξείνοις δὲ θαυμαστὸς πατήρ,*
i.e. 'who rules at Syracuse, a king courteous to citizens, not jealous of the good but looked up to as a father by strangers.'

²⁶ Olymp. vi 92 ff.

*εἰπὼν δὲ μεμνᾶσθαι Συρακοσσᾶν τε καὶ Ὀρτυγίας
τὰν Ἰέρων καθαρῷ σκάπτῳ διέπων,
ἄρτια μηδόμενος, φοινικόπεζαν
ἀμφέπει Δάματρα λευκίππου τε θυγατρὸς ἑορτάν,
καὶ Ζηνὸς Αἰτναίου κράτος,*

i.e. 'and bid them make special mention both of Syracuse and of Ortygia, which Hieron rules with righteous sceptre, pursuing truthful counsels, and worships Demeter of the ruddy foot, the festival of her daughter with the white steeds and the majesty of Aetnean Zeus.'

his love of excellence²⁷, and his virtues in general²⁸. To these passages we may add Plutarch's judgment of him: ἀλλὰ Γέλωνά γε ἴσμεν καὶ Ἱέρωνα τοὺς Σικελιώτας καὶ Πεισιστράτην τὸν Ἱπποκράτους ὅτι πονηρίᾳ κτησάμενοι τυραννίδας ἐχρήσαντο πρὸς ἀρετὴν αὐταῖς καὶ παρανόμως ἐπὶ τὸ ἄρχειν ἐλθόντες ἐγένοντο μέτριοι καὶ δημοφελεῖς ἄρχοντες²⁹.

²⁷ Olymp. i 103 ff.—

πέποιθα δὲ ξένον
μή τιw' ἀμφότερα καλῶν τε ἴδριν ἄμμε καὶ δύναμιν κυριώτερον
τῶν γε νῦν κλυταῖσι δαιδαλώσεμεν θμῶν πτυχαῖς,
θεὸς ἐπίτροπος ἔων τεαῖσι μήδεαι
ἔχων τοῦτο κᾶδος, Ἱέρων,
μερίμναισιν

i.e. 'and I am confident that there is no host of the present time whom I can bedeck with the artistic turns of song, that is at once more acquainted with honours and has more rightful influence in his power. The god who is your family guardian makes you, Hieron, his special care and has regard to your interests.'

²⁸ Ol. i 11 ff.—

. . Ἱέρωνος, . .
θεμιστεῖον δὲ ἀμφέπει σκάπτων ἐν πολυμάλῳ
Σικελίᾳ, δρέπων μὲν κορυφὰς ἀρετῶν ἀπὸ πασῶν,
ἀγλαίζεται δὲ καὶ
μουσικᾶς ἐν ἀώτῳ,
οἷα παίζομεν φίλων
ἄνδρες ἀμφὶ θαμὰ τράπεζαν,

i.e. 'of Hieron, who wields the judicial sceptre in Sicily, the land that teems with fruit, culling the heads from all kinds of virtues, and he rejoiceth also in music's rarest bloom, to wit, in such festive lays as we men oft raise at the friendly board.'

²⁹ *de sera numinis vindicta* p. 551 f.

There are two passages in Aelian where Hieron is mentioned favourably, one at least of which may perhaps help us to reconcile these contradictory accounts. He says that Hieron was at first as illiterate as his brother Gelon, but that after a severe illness his character in this respect underwent a complete change and he became humanised and a devoted patron of learning³⁰. Elsewhere³¹ he gives him a very much better character than Diodorus Siculus does.

From whatever cause, whether in consequence of the severe illness with which he was attacked in the fourth year of his reign (474 B.C.) or after he had established his authority more firmly, Hieron seems to have become more amiable and to have displayed more of the qualities, that ought to distinguish those

³⁰ *var. hist.* iv 15 'Ιερωνά φασι τὸν Σικελίας τύραννον τὰ πρῶτα ἰδιώτην (*rudem*) εἶναι καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἀμουσώτατον καὶ τὴν ἀγροικίαν ἀλλὰ μὴδὲ κατ' ὀλίγον τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ διαφέρειν τοῦ Γέλωνος· ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτῷ συνηρέχθη νοσήσαι, μουσικώτατος ἀνθρώπων ἐγένετο, τὴν σχολὴν τὴν ἐκ τῆς ἀρρωστίας εἰς ἀκούσματα πεπαιδευμένα καταθέμενος. ῥωσθεὶς οὖν 'Ιέρων συνῆν Σιμωνίδῃ τῷ Κεῖῳ καὶ Πινδάρῳ τῷ Θηβαίῳ καὶ Βακχυλίδῃ τῷ 'Ιουλιήτῃ. ὁ δὲ Γέλων ἀνθρώπος ἀμουσος.

³¹ *ib.* ix 1 'Ιερωνά φασι τὸν Συρακόσιον φιλέλληνα γενέσθαι καὶ τιμῆσαι παιδείαν ἀνδρείωτατα. Καὶ ὡς ἦν προχειρότατος εἰς τὰς εὐεργεσίας λέγουσι· προθυμώτερον γὰρ αὐτὸν φασιν χαρίζεσθαι ἢ τοὺς αἰτούντας λαμβάνειν. ἦν δὲ καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀνδρείωτατος. ἀβασανίστως δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς συνεβίωσε τρισὶν οὔσι, πάννυ σφόδρα ἀγαπήσας αὐτοὺς καὶ ὑπ' αὐτῶν φιληθεὶς ἐν τῷ μέρει. Τοῦτ' φασὶ καὶ Σιμωνίδης συνεβίωσε καὶ Πίνδαρος, καὶ οὐκ ὥκησέ γε Σιμωνίδης, βαρὺς ὢν ὑπὸ γήρως, πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀφικέσθαι. Ἦν μὲν γὰρ τῇ φύσει φιλόργυρος ὁ Κεῖος, προὔτρεπε δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ πλεόν ἢ τοῦ 'Ιέρωνος φιλοδορία, φασί.

who rule over others, than he had shown at the beginning of his reign.

Be that as it may, whatever his defects and demerits, however inferior he was to Gelon³² in the mildness of his rule, Hieron evinced his superiority over his brother by the liberal patronage which he accorded to men of letters, so that his court became a centre of literature and art and the resort of the most distinguished poets and philosophers of the day. Aeschylus³³, and Simonides³⁴ were admitted to intimacy with him; Bakchylides³⁵ and Pindar were frequent visitors at his court; Epicharmos also of Kos and Xenophanês of Kolophon appear to have been on intimate terms with him. Intercourse with men of this stamp must have done much to humanise the tyrant's natural tastes and inclinations, and we may fairly assume him to have been an instance of the truth of Horace's³⁶ maxim:—

*nemo adeo ferus est ut non mitescere possit,
si modo culturae patientem commodet aurem.*

In his love of splendour and in the magnificence of his court Hieron surpassed other Hellenic tyrants³⁷.

³² Diod. Sic. xi c. 26 ὁ Γέλων ἐχρήτο πᾶσιν ἐπιεικῶς, μάλιστα μὲν διὰ τὸν ἴδιον τρόπον οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ καὶ σπεύδων ἅπαντας ἔχειν ταῖς εὐνοίαις ἰδίους: ib. c. 38 τοῦ Γέλωνος ἐπιεικῶς προσεσηκότος τῶν Σικελιωτῶν καὶ πολλὴν εὐνομίαν τε καὶ πάντων ἐπιτηδείων εὐπορίαν παρεχομένου ταῖς πόλεσι.

³³ Pausanias i 2, 3.

³⁴ Athenaeus xiv c. 72 p. 656 D, Aelian *ubi supra*.

³⁵ Aelian *ubi supra*, Schol. on Pindar Pyth. ii 131.

³⁶ Epist. i i 40.

³⁷ Herodotus iii 125 must refer to Hieron when he says: οἱ μὲν οἱ Συρακοσίων γενόμενοι τύραννοι, οὐδὲ εἰς τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν

The inscription on the noble gift, which he vowed to the Olympian Zeus and which was set up after his death by his son Deinomenês at Olympia, recorded, according to Pausanias³⁸, that he was three times successful at the great Olympic contests, twice with the single-horse, and once in the four-horse chariot-race. The first of these distinctions is celebrated by Pindar in his first *ἐπινίκιον*. His other victories, at Delphi and elsewhere, have been, as we have already seen, immortalised by the Theban bard. Like his brother Gelon he sent splendid offerings to the temple at Delphi³⁹ also in commemoration of his victories.

τυράννων ἀξίως ἐστί Πολυκράτει μεγαλοπρεπείῃ συμβληθῆναι. Cf. Plutarch Themist. c. 25.

³⁸ viii 42, 8 Ἰέρωνος ἀποθανόντος πρότερον πρὶν ἢ τῷ Ὀλυμπίῳ Διὶ ἀναθῆναι τὰ ἀναθήματα ἃ εἵλατο ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππων ταῖς νίκαις, οὕτω Δεινομένης ὁ Ἰέρωνος ἀπέδωκεν ὑπὲρ τοῦ πατρὸς. Ὁνάτα καὶ ταῦτα ποιήματα, καὶ ἐπιγράμματα ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ, τὸ μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀναθήματος ἐστὶν αὐτῶν.

Σὸν ποτε νικήσας, Ζεῦ Ὀλύμπιε, σεμνὸν ἀγῶνα
τεθρίππῳ μὲν ἅπαξ, μουνοκέλητι δὲ δῖς,
δῶρ' Ἰέρων τάδε σοι ἐχαρίσσατο· παῖς δ' ἀνέθηκε
Δεινομένης πατρὸς μνήμα Συρακοσίου.

τὸ δὲ ἕτερον λέγει τῶν ἐπιγραμμάτων

Τίς μὲν με Μίκωνος Ὁνάτας ἐξετέλεσεν
νάσφ' ἐν Αἰγίνῃ δώματα ναιετάων.

³⁹ ib. vi 12, 1: πλησίον δὲ ἄρμα τέ ἐστι χαλκοῦν καὶ ἀνὴρ ἀναβεβηκὼς ἐπ' αὐτό, κέλητες δὲ ἵπποι παρὰ τὸ ἄρμα εἰς ἐκατέρωθεν ἔστηκε, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππων καθέζονται παῖδες. ὑπομνήματα δὲ ἐπὶ νίκαις Ὀλυμπικαῖς ἐστὶν Ἰέρωνος τοῦ Δεινομένου τυραννήσαντος Συρακοσίων μετὰ τὸν ἀδελφὸν Γέλωνα. τὰ δὲ ἀναθήματα οὐχ Ἰέρων ἀπέστειλεν, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἀποδοὺς τῷ θεῷ Δεινομένης ἐστὶν ὁ Ἰέρωνος, ἔργα δὲ, τὸ μὲν Ὁνάτα τοῦ Αἰγινήτου τὸ ἄρμα, Καλαμίδος δὲ οἱ ἵπποι τε οἱ ἐκατέρωθεν καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῶν εἰσὶν οἱ παῖδες.

⁴⁰ Athenæus vi c. 20 p. 231—2: ἰστοροῦσιν οὗτοι (sc. Φανίας

Hieron became the type of splendid misery as he had been of splendid success; for during his life he lived in an atmosphere of treachery and meanness, surrounded by sycophants and informers, and he was the victim of great bodily suffering. He died Ol. 78, 2, B.C. 467 at his favoured Aetna, in the territory of Katana, in the 12th year of his reign⁴⁰, where he was interred with heroic honours as the founder of the city⁴¹: but his tomb was afterwards destroyed by the former inhabitants on their return to the town after expelling the new colonists.

The other interlocutor in the imaginary dialogue is the poet Simonides, son of Leoprepes, of Iulis in the island of Keos, whose life extended from Ol. 56, 1 to Ol. 78, 1 (= 556—468 B.C.), the most stirring and eventful, if not the most glorious, period of Greek history⁴². He was one of a family,

ὁ Ἐρέσιος καὶ Θεόπομπος) κοσμηθῆναι τὸ Πυθικὸν ἱερὸν ὑπὸ τε τοῦ Γύγου καὶ τοῦ μετὰ τοῦτον Κροίσου, μεθ' οὓς ὑπὸ τε Γέλωνος καὶ Ἰέρωνος τῶν Σικελιωτῶν, τοῦ μὲν τρίποδα καὶ νίκην χρυσοῦ πεποιημένα ἀναθέντος καθ' οὓς χρόνους Ξέρξης ἐπεστράτευσεν τῇ Ἑλλάδι, τοῦ δ' Ἰέρωνος τὰ ὅμοια. Athenaeus proceeds with the story told by Theopompos how Hieron, being unable to procure pure gold for his offerings, had to send to Hellas, where he bought some of Architelēs of Corinth δις πολλῶ χρόνῳ συνωνούμενος κατὰ μικρὸν θησαυροὺς εἶχεν οὐκ ὀλίγους.

⁴⁰ Schol. ad Pind. Ol. i 1, Pyth. i 89, iii 1, Diod. Sic. xii 38 Ἰέρων...ἐβασίλευσε τῶν Συρακουσίων ἔτη ἑνδεκα καὶ μῆνας ὀκτώ, ib. i 166, Aristot. Pol. v c. 12, Plutarch de Pyth. orac. 19.

⁴¹ Diod. Sic. xi 66 Ἰέρων δὲ...ἐτελεύτησεν ἐν τῇ Κατάνῃ καὶ τιμῶν ἥρωικῶν ἔτυχε, ὡς ἂν κτίστης γεγονώς τῆς πόλεως. The founding of Aetna was celebrated by Aeschylus in his *Aitrnaïai* (*γυναῖκες*) and by Pindar in his first Pythian.

⁴² According to his own testimony in the Epigram in

in which music and poetry was an hereditary art, and which held some office in connexion with the worship of Dionysos. He was himself chorus-teacher in the town of Carthaea where the house of the chorus (χορηγεῖον) was his usual abode⁴³. From his native island he migrated to Athens at the invitation of the Peisistratid Hipparchos⁴⁴, at whose court he spent several years (B.C. 527—514), at the same time as Anacreon and his rival, the dithyrambic poet Lasos, Pindar's teacher⁴⁵, and was highly esteemed by him. After the murder of Hipparchos in B.C. 514 (of which event the poet speaks as a great light to Athens⁴⁶, although the tyrant was so great a benefactor to him personally) and the subsequent overthrow of Hippias in B.C. 510 Simonides spent the next period of his life in Thessaly with the families of the Aleuadae and Skopadae, the hereditary grandees of Thessaly, whose names have been rescued from oblivion by the

Planudes (*Jacobs Anth. Palat. Append. Epigr.* 79 = 203 Schneidewin) he was 80 years old in Ol. 75, 4 (= B.C. 477):

ἦρχεν Ἀδελμάντος μὲν Ἀθηναίοις ὅτ' ἐνίκᾳ
'Αντιοχὶς φυλὴ δαιδαλέον τρίποδα'

* * * * *

ἀμφὶ διδασκαλίᾳ δὲ Σιμωνίδῃ ἔσπετο κύδος
ὀγδωκοντάττει παιδί Λεωπρεπέος.

⁴³ See the story related by Chamaeleon in Athenaeus x c. 84 p. 456 c.

⁴⁴ Plat. *Hipparch.* p. 223 c, Aelian *var. hist.* viii 2.

⁴⁵ Arist. *Vesp.* 1410 with Schol.

⁴⁶ *Epigr.* 131 = 187 Schneidewin.

ἦ μέγ' Ἀθηναίοισι φῶς γενεθ' ἦν ἴκ' Ἀριστο-
γέλτων Ἰππαρχὸν κτείνει καὶ Ἀρμύδιος.

poet's *θρῆνοι*, and the *ἐπινίκια*⁴⁷ in which he sang of the prizes won by their horses in the sacred games⁴⁸. Of these epinikian odes that on the victory of Skopas with the four-horse chariot is best known by the commentary on a fragment of it in the *Protagoras* of Plato⁴⁹. There are also extant fragments of

⁴⁷ i.e. songs performed at a feast in honour of a victor in public and sacred games, either on the scene of the conflict or upon his return home. 'The most striking occasion' says Mr J. A. Symonds (*Studies in the Greek poets* Vol. 1 p. 128 ed. 2) 'must have been the commemoration of a victory in the Temple of Zeus at Altis in the Olympian plain by moonlight.'

⁴⁸ Theokritus *Idyll.* xvi l. 36 ff., speaking of the value of song and of the wealth of the Aleuadae and Skopadae, says of them:—

ἀμναστοὶ δὲ, τὰ πολλὰ καὶ ὀλβία τῆνα λιπόντες,
 δειλοῖς ἐν νεκύεσσι μακροὺς αἰῶνας ἔκειντο,
 εἰ μὴ δεινὸς ἀοιδὸς ὁ Κῆϋος, αἰόλα φωνέων
 βάρβιτον ἐς πολύχορδον, ἐν ἀνδράσι θῆκ' ὀνομαστοῖς
 ὀπλοτέροις· τιμᾶς δὲ καὶ ὠκέες ἔλλαχον ἵπποι,
 οἳ σφιν ἐξ ἱερῶν στεφανηφόροι ἦνθον ἀγώνων.

'and for long ages they had lain nameless among the forlorn dead, leaving behind them all that store of wealth, had not the skilled minstrel of Ceos with subtle song to the accompaniment of a stringed lyre made them famous among later generations: and their swift racers also, who came back to them from the sacred contests crowned with victory, had a share in their meed of praise.'

⁴⁹ p. 339 r. In this ode the saying of Pittakos 'it is difficult to be good,' which was censured as requiring too much, was probably applied for the purpose of extenuating some faults in his patron's character. 'With Ionian facility and courtly compliment' says Mr Symonds *l.c.* 'he made excuses for a bad man by pleading that perfect goodness was unattainable.'

the dirges (*θρήνοι*) on the hapless Skopad⁵⁰ and on the Aleuad Antiochus, son of Echekratides: and doubtless the exquisite lyric piece containing the *Lament of Danae*⁵¹ was part of a *θρήνος* composed for one of the Aleuadae. But the rough nature of the Thessalians was not to be softened by the charms of his poetry or at least to be covered with a varnish of civilization, for he says himself of them ἀμαθέστεροί εἰσιν ἢ ὡς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ἐξαπατᾶσθαι⁵². That these families were not always equally liberal to their poet, appears from the anecdote recording the most dramatic incident in his life⁵³. According to the story Skopas

⁵⁰ fr. xlvi ed. Schneidewin:

ἀνθρωπος ἐὼν μὴ ποτε εἴπῃς ὃ τι γίνεται αἰρίων,
μηδ' ἀνδρα ἰδὼν δλβιον, ὅσσον χρόνον ἔσσειται·
ὡκεία γάρ, οὐδὲ τανυπτερύγου μύλας
οὕτως ἀ μετὰστασις;

i.e. 'mortal that you are, never talk of what is to happen tomorrow, nor when you see a man prosperous, (say) how long he will last; for swift is the change, not so swift is the movement of a winged fly from place to place.'

⁵¹ Prof. Jebb thinks on the contrary that it was a piece complete in itself, not a gem adorning a larger piece on another subject. See his admirable Essay on Pindar in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. III p. 164.

⁵² Plutarch *de aud. poet.* p. 15 c.

⁵³ Cic. *de oratore* II 86, 352 f. Cf. Quintilian *Inst. orat.* XI 2, 11; Valer. Max. I 8 ext. 7, Phaedr. *Fab.* IV 25, Ovid *Ib.* 51 f. (ed. R. Ellis),

*lapsuramque domum subeas, ut sanguis Aleuæ,
stella Leoprepidae cum fuit æqua viro.*

Callimach. fr. 64 (ed. Meineke) where Simonides is made to say:

οὐδ' ὑμέας, Πολύδευκες, ὑπέτρεσεν, ὅ με μελάθρου
μέλλοντος πίπτειν ἐκτὸς ἐθεσθὲ ποτε

once refused him more than half the promised reward and referred him for the other half to the Dioskuri, whom he had also praised in his ode; and, in consequence, the Dioskuri saved Simonides when the building fell and buried Skopas in its ruins.

But the high reputation of Simonides among the Hellenes is chiefly apparent at the time of the Persian war, when he was resident at Athens. He was in friendly intercourse with Themistokles⁵⁴ and the Spartan general Pausanias, and he became the spokesman of the nation in celebrating the great deeds and heroes of that period. The poems which he wrote for this purpose were for the most part epigraphs; but some were lyrical compositions, like the panegyric of those who had fallen at Thermopylae and the odes on the sea-fights at Artemision and Salamis. Others were elegiacs, as the elegy⁵⁵ in honour of the warriors who fell at Marathon (B.C. 490), for which he is stated to have carried off the prize from Aeschylus himself, the Athenians having instituted

δαιτυμόνων ἀπο μόνον, ὅτε Κρανώνιος αἰαῖ
ῶλισθεν μεγάλους οἶκος ἐπὶ Σκοπάδας.

Schneidewin infers from a quotation from Phanias of Eresos by Athenaeus x p. 438 E, who placed the death of Skopas under the head of Destruction of Tyrants through revenge, that the tyrant's death was really plotted by the people and that timely notice was given to Simonides, on account of his sacred character as a poet, of the intended undermining of the building in which Skopas was about to celebrate his victory. 'The story' observes Mr Symonds 'perhaps belongs to the same class as the cranes of Ibykus and the dolphin of Arion.'

⁵⁴ Plutarch *Them.* v 4.

⁵⁵ *Grammaticus in vita Aeschyli* p. xiv Dindorf.

a contest of the chief poets. Ten years later, in B.C. 479, he composed the epigram (ἐπικήδειον) inscribed on the tomb of the Spartan heroes of Thermopylae⁵⁶ and the celebrated ἐγκώμιον on the same⁵⁷,

⁵⁶ Herod. vii 228 :

ὦ ξεῖν', ἀγγέλλειν Λακεδαιμονίοις, ὅτι τῶδε
κείμεθα, τοῖς κείνων ῥήμασι πειθόμενοι.

*dic, hospes, Spartae nos te hic vidisse iacentis,
dum sanctis patriae legibus obsequimur,*

as it is translated by Cicero Tusc. i 42, 101.

⁵⁷ Diod. Sic. xi 11 : οὐχ οἱ τῶν ἱστοριῶν συγγραφεῖς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν ποιητῶν καθύμνησαν αὐτῶν τὰς ἀνδραγαθίας, ὧν γέγονε καὶ Σιμωνίδης ὁ μελοποιός, ἄξιον τῆς ἀρετῆς αὐτῶν ποιήσας ἐγκώμιον, ἐν ᾧ λέγει·

τῶν ἐν Θερμοπύλαις θανόντων
εὐκλεῆς μὲν ἂν τύχα, καλὸς δ' ὁ πότμος,
βωμὸς δ' ὁ τάφος, πρὸ γῶν δὲ μῆλας, ὁ δ' οἶκος ἔπαινος.
ἐντάφιον δὲ τοιοῦτον οὐτ' εὐρώς
οὐθ' ὁ πανδαμάτωρ ἀμαυρώσει χρόνος ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν.
ὁ δὲ σακὸς οἰκέταν εὐδοξίαν
'Ἑλλάδος εἴλετο' μαρτυρεῖ δὲ Λεωνίδας
ὁ Σπάρτας βασιλεὺς, ἀρετὰς μέγαν λελοιπῶς
κόσμον δέναν τε κλέος.

i.e. 'of those who died at Thermopylae glorious is the fate and fair the doom; their grave is an altar; instead of lamentation, they have endless fame; their dirge is a chant of praise. Such winding-sheet as theirs no rust, no nor all-conquering time, shall bring to nought, brave men that they were. But their sepulchre took for its habitation the glory of Hellas. Leonidas is witness thereof, Sparta's king, who hath left a mighty crown of valour and undying fame.'

If we analyse this fragment, what strikes us is the masterly skill and grace with which the poet plays with a single thought; and the skill with which the antitheses are wrought; the glory of the heroes' fate, then with a boldness of thought succeeding

and, on account of the high consideration in which he was held both at Athens and in Peloponnesos⁵⁸, he was frequently employed by the states which fought against the Persians to adorn with inscriptions (ἐπιγράμματα) the tombs of their warriors, who had fallen in the War of Liberation.

Though inferior as a poet to his contemporary, the other great master of *universal melic*, in profundity and novelty of ideas, in fervour of feeling and in that δύναμις ἀμφιλαφής⁵⁹, 'breadth of view and power of grasp,' which was at once Pindar's aspiration and characteristic, he nevertheless was decidedly better known and more admired in his day⁶⁰ than the poet who so completely eclipsed him in the judgment of posterity. Yet we cannot help agreeing with Prof. Mahaffy when he says that 'the exquisite beauty,

what is commonplace, their grave is an altar. 'We do not lament for them so much as hold them in eternal memory: our very songs of sorrow become paeans of praise. Rust and time cannot affect their fame; Hellas confides her glory to their tomb. Then generalities are quitted; and Leonidas, the protagonist of Thermopylae, appears.' J. A. Symonds *l.c.* p. 161.

⁵⁸ 'The practical tendency of his poetry, the worldly wisdom, guided by a noble disposition, which appeared in it, and the delicacy with which he treated all the relations of states and rulers, made him the friend of the most powerful and distinguished men of his age. In fact scarcely any poet of antiquity enjoyed so much consideration in his life-time or exercised so much influence upon political events, as Simonides.' K. O. Müller's *Hist. Greek Lit.* tr. by Lewis and Donaldson Vol. I p. 276.

⁵⁹ Ol. ix 88.

⁶⁰ Cf. Jebb *l.c.* p. 166, Mahaffy *Hist. of Gr. Lit.* Vol. I p. 206 *ed. 1.*

the pellucid clearness, and the deep but chastened pathos of his fragments make us wish to exchange a few of Pindar's more laboured odes for the masterpieces of his rival⁶¹.

Simonides was probably the most prolific poet whom Greece had seen, although so little of his poetry has come down to us. He gained (according to the inscription of a votive tablet, written by himself on his departure for Sicily)⁶² no less than fifty-six oxen and tripods in poetical contests at public festivals.

Of the several classes of poems which he composed for public festivals the greater part relate directly to the worship of the various gods. These were dithyrambs or choral songs, chiefly but not always dedicated to Dionysos⁶³, chants (*ὕμνοι*) and prayers (*κατευχαί*) sung by a chorus standing before an altar, paeans (*παῖνες*) to Phoebus in his double character of a victorious and a healing god, the accompaniment of the battle and the feast; processional hymns (*προσόδια*) sung at solemn festivals by troops of men and maidens walking to the shrines, crowned with olive, myrtle, bay or oleander, a special kind of which were *παρθένια*⁶⁴, called daphnephoria when

⁶¹ *l. c.* p. 208.

⁶² Anthol. Palat. vi 213, fr. 202 ed. Schn.

ἐξ ἐπὶ πενήκοντα, Σιμωνίδῃ, ἦραο ταύρους
καὶ τρίποδας, πρὶν τόνδ' ἀνθέμεναι πίνακα·
τοσσάκι δ' ἡμερόεντα διδασκόμενος χορὸν ἀνδρῶν
εὐδόξου Νίκας ἀγλαὸν ἄρμ' ἐπέβης.

⁶³ Müller *l. c.* p. 278.

⁶⁴ There is a beautiful example of antiphonal parthenia at the end of the *Lysistrata* of Aristophanes, where choruses of

addressed to Phoebus, because the maidens carried laurel branches to his shrine; songs to lively dancing performed by choruses of boys or of boys and young maidens, which were originally confined to the worship of Apollo (ὑπορχήματα). 'In these last' says Müller⁶⁵ 'Simonides seems to have excelled himself; so great a master was he of the art of

Athenian and Spartan girls sing in rivalry turn and turn about.

⁶⁵ l. c. on the authority of Plutarch *Mor.* p. 748 A, B: ὀρχηστικῇ δὲ καὶ ποιητικῇ κοινωνία πᾶσα καὶ μέθεξι ἀλλήλων ἐστὶ, καὶ μάλιστα μιμούμεναι περὶ τὸ ὑπορχημάτων γένος ἔνεργον ἀμφοτέραι τὴν διὰ τῶν σχημάτων καὶ τῶν ὀνομάτων μίμησιν ἀποτελοῦσι. . . . δηλοῖ δὲ ὁ μάλιστα κατωρθώκεναι δόξας ἐν ὑπορχήμασι, καὶ γεγενῆσθαι πιθανώτατος αὐτοῦ, τὸ δεῖσθαι τὴν ἑτέραν τῆς ἑτέρας· τὸ γὰρ

ἀπέλαστον ἵππον ἢ κύν' Ἀμυκλαίαν
ἀγωνίων ἐλελιζόμενος ποδὶ μίμω
καμπύλον μέλος διώκων·

(i.e. '*celerem equum aut canem Amyclaeam clamore laeto imitare, pedum levitate vias persequens varias modorum*'), ἢ τὸ

οἷος ἀνὰ Δώτιον ἀνθέμοεν πεδὶον πέταται
θάνατον κερά
εὐρέμεν ματεύων ἐλάφω·
τὰν δ' ἔλ' αὐχένι στρέφουσιν
σφέτερον κέρα πάντ' ἐς οἶμον,

καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς—μηδένα λελθὲν τὴν ἐν ὀρχήσει διάθεσιν τὰ ποιήματα παρακαλεῖν καὶ τῷ χεῖρε καὶ τῷ πόδε, μᾶλλον δὲ δλον ὥσπερ τισὶ μὴρῖνοις ἔλκειν τὸ σῶμα τοῖς μέλεσι καὶ ἐντείνειν, τούτων δὴ λεγομένων καὶ ἄδομένων, ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν μὴ δυναμένοις· αὐτὸς γοῦν αὐτὸν οὐκ αἰσχύνεται περὶ τὴν ὀρχησιν οὐχ ἥττον ἢ τὴν ποίησιν ἐγκωμιάζων·

ἅπα δὲ γαῦσαι
σύν τ' ἐλαφρὸν ὀρχημ' οἶδα ποδῶν μιγνύμεν·
Χρῆστα δὲ μιν καλέοισι τρόπον, τὸ δ' ὄργανον Μολοσσόν.

painting by apt rhythms and words the acts which he wished to describe.' Of the poems which Simonides composed for private persons, the odes of Victory (ἐπινίκια)⁶⁶ and laments (θρήνοι) are among the best specimens of his art. The former belong, like those of Pindar, to the age when sculpture was finding a new field in the commemoration of victorious combatants, who were then raised to such an eminent rank, as to be almost on a level with demigods (ἡμίθεοι) in respect to the honours paid to them. 'They appear to have been distinguished from those of Pindar mainly in this: that the former dwelt upon the particular victory which gave occasion to his song and described all its details with greater minuteness; while Pindar passes lightly over the incident and immediately soars into higher regions. Simonides too more frequently indulged in pleasantry than befitted a poem destined to be recited at a sacred feast⁶⁷.'

What Simonides possesses quite peculiar to his own genius is tenderness of feeling and pathos⁶⁸, and

⁶⁶ See note 47.

⁶⁷ Müller l.c. p. 279.

⁶⁸ Dionys. Halicarn. *vett. script. iud.* II 6 p. 420 ed. Reiske τὸ οἰκτιζεσθαι μὴ μεγαλοπρεπῶς ὡς Πίνδαρος ἀλλὰ παθητικῶς. Cf. Catullus xxxviii 8 *maestius lacrimis Simonideis*, and Horace Od. II 1, 37

*Sed ne relictis, Musa procaz, iocis
Caeae retractes munera naeniae.*

Quintilian *inst. orat.* x 1, 64: *Simonides, tenuis alioqui, sermone proprio et iucunditate quadam commendari potest: praecipua tamen eius in commovenda miseratione virtus, ut quidam in hac eum parte omnibus eius operis auctoribus praeferant.*

this is seen most remarkably in his dirges (*θρῆνοι*) or choral hymns sung at funeral solemnities (of which we have one exquisitely beautiful fragment already spoken of)⁶⁹, in which the poet surrenders himself to the genuine feelings of human nature, expressing grief for the dead and the fond regret of the survivors and resignation to inevitable evils, and seeking consolation in the shortness and toils of human life and the instability of fortune with the tone usual to the Ionic elegy. The style of Simonides is pure and graceful, smooth and highly polished—hence the ancients called him *Melikertes*⁷⁰. In his choice of words⁷¹, he departs less from the language of ordinary life than Pindar, whose majesty, force and gorgeous exuberance of poetical ideas form a contrast to the exquisite finish and skill with which Simonides works out in detail one or two images, producing with a few graphic touches a

⁶⁹ p. xxix.

⁷⁰ Schol. ad Arist. Vesp. 1410, Suidas s.v. *Σιμωνίδης*. Cf. Cic. de nat. deor. i 22 *suavis poeta Simonides*, Epigr. on the nine lyrists (Anthol. Pal. ix 571)

ἐκλαγεν ἐκ Θηβῶν μέγα Πίνδαρος· ἔπνεε τερπνὰ
ἡδυμελεῖ φθόγγου Μοῦσα Σιμωνίδεω.

⁷¹ Dionys. Halic. ii 6 *Σιμωνίδου παρατῆρει τὴν ἐκλογὴν τῶν ὀνομάτων, τῆς συνθέσεως τὴν ἀκρίβειαν*: elsewhere he is reckoned by him among the poets who excelled τῷ τῆς γλαφυρᾶς καὶ ἀνθρώπου συνθέσεως χαρακτῆρι: cf. *de comp. verb.* p. 342 ed. Schaefer.

Simonides' compositions, to judge from the waifs and strays we have left, justify the definition which he himself is said by Plutarch to have given of poetry as *ζωγραφία λαλοῦσα*: see the tract *de gloria Atheniensium* p. 346 F, quoted by F. G. Schneidewin l.c. p. xliv.

perfectly harmonious whole. The spirit of σωφροσύνη 'reserve' or 'tempered self-restraint,' and absence of enthusiasm for which the Ionians of Keos were noted⁷², 'a modest consciousness of human weakness and recognition of a superior power are everywhere traceable in his poetry⁷³,' and give it a mellow tone as they do to his philosophy also and moral precepts. It was this same trait in his character which made the younger generation of Athenians, typified by Pheidippidēs in the *Clouds* of Aristophanes⁷⁴, despise him as old-fashioned, whereas with their ancestors, the heroes of Marathon (μαραθωνόμαχαι), he was an object of worship.

The system of patronage under which he lived seems to have destroyed the independence of his character, and in this respect he contrasts unfavourably with Pindar, whose great desire was to raise his art above the reproach of sordid servility from which Simonides was not exempt, as appears from

⁷² Aristides περί παραθέγμ. III p. 645 A: τὴν γε τοῦ Σιμωνίδου σωφροσύνην οἶσθα· εἰ δὲ μή, ἀλλ' ἕτεροι ἴσασιν, ὥς ἐν τι τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐστὶ τῶν ἐκείνου τὸ γνωριμώτατον σχεδὸν καὶ περὶ τῇ πόλει καὶ περὶ αὐτὸν τὸν βίον, quoted by Schneidewin l.c. p. xxiii. Cf. Plat. *Protag.* p. 341 E with Stallbaum's note.

⁷³ See e.g. *Encomium* fr. 10, 6 ἅπαντα γὰρ ἐστὶ θεῶν ἥσσω, *Epinic.* fr. 33

οὔτις ἄνευ θεῶν
ἀρετὰν λάβεν, οὐ πόλις, οὐ βροτὸς·
θεὸς δὲ παμμῆτις· ἀπήμαντον γὰρ οὐδὲν
ἔστιν ἐν αὐτοῖς,

and the rebuke which he administered to Pausanias (*Plutarch Cons. ad Apoll.* p. 105 A) for his ὑπερηφανία by reminding him δτι ἄνθρωπός ἐστι.

⁷⁴ v. 1355.

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allusions in the contemporary poet⁷⁵ and from various anecdotes⁷⁶ recorded of him. The wise and philosophic discourses of Simonides at the court of his patron at Syracuse have been made the subject of an allusion in Plato⁷⁷, as some of his gnomic sayings are discussed in the dialogues, e.g. the

⁷⁵ See Prof. Jebb *l.c.* p. 159, who refers to *Isthm.* ii 1—11, *Pyth.* iii 54, Schneidewin *l.c.* p. xxiv—xxxii.

⁷⁶ e.g. the story in Aristotle's *Rhetoric* (iii 2, 14) that he was once asked to write an *ἐπινίκιον* by a victor in the mule-race, when, being offended with the smallness of the fee offered, he declined to compose an ode on *ἡμίονοι* 'half-asses.' But when the terms were raised, he wrote at once *χαίρετ', ἀελλοπόδων θύγατρες ἱππων*, 'hurrah for the daughters of the storm-footed mares!' and yet, adds Aristotle *καὶ τῶν ὄνων θυγατέρες ἦσαν*, 'they were daughters of the asses as well.' Again in ii 16, 2 his *mot* on the comparative advantages of money and wisdom in answer to Hieron's wife is quoted: *γενέσθαι κρεῖττον πλούσιον· τοὺς σοφοὺς γὰρ ἔφη ὁρᾶν ἐπὶ ταῖς τῶν πλουσίων θύραις διατρίβοντας*. His greed of gain is also alluded to by Aristophanes in the *Peace* v. 697 ff., Schol. ad Pindar. *Isthm.* ii 5 νῦν, φησί, μισθοῦ συντάττουσι τοὺς ἐπινικίους πρῶτου Σιμωνίδου προκαταρξαμένον· ἔνθεν καὶ Καλλιμαχος·

οὐ γὰρ ἐργάτιν τρέφω

τὴν Μοῦσαν, ὡς ὁ Κείος 'Τλλίχου νέπου,

λέγει δὲ ταῦτα πρὸς Σιμωνίδην, ὡς φιλάργυρον διασύρων τὸν ἄνδρα, Chamaeleon ap. Athenae. xiv c 72 p. 656 ὃ ὄντως δὲ ἦν ὡς ἀληθῶς κίμβιξ ὁ Σιμωνίδης καὶ αἰσχροκέρδης, Phaedr. *fab.* iv 23. Socrates in Plato (*Protag.* p. 346 b) says that Simonides was often induced to write encomiums on tyrants and other powerful men without being convinced of the justice of his praises, as in the case of Skopas, son of Kreon, referred to above p. xxix.

⁷⁷ *Epist.* ii περὶ 'Ιέρωνος θαν διαλέγωνται οἱ ἄνθρωποι καὶ Πausanίου τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίου, χαίρουσι τὴν Σιμωνίδου ξυνουσίαν παραφέροντες ἃ τε ἔπραξε καὶ εἶπε πρὸς αὐτούς.

Protagoras p. 339 B, and the *Republ.* I p. 331 E. The celebrated evasion of the question on the nature of God, implying that our safest eloquence concerning Him is our silence, is ascribed by Cicero to Simonides as a reply to Hieron⁷⁸.

3. *On the τυραννίς,—its origin, different forms and place in the political development of Greece*

The word *τύραννος* originally meant nothing more than 'ruler' and had no invidious secondary meaning associated with it⁷⁹. *Βασιλεύς*⁸⁰ for a 'tyrant' and *τύραννος*⁸¹, as applied to the kings of the early age, were still employed promiscuously after the full de-

⁷⁸ de nat. deor. I § 60: *rogas me quid aut quale sit deus, auctore utar Simonide, de quo cum quaesivisset hoc idem tyrannus Hiero, deliberandi sibi unum diem postulavit; cum idem ex eo postridie quaereret, biduum petivit; cum saepius duplicaret numerum dierum, admiransque Hiero requireret cur ita faceret, 'Quia, quanto diutius considero,' inquit 'tanto mihi res videtur obscurior.'* Cf. Minuc. Fel. Octav. c. 13.

⁷⁹ Wachsmuth *Hist. Antig. of the Greeks* Eng. Tr. Vol. I p. 414: the word *τυραννίς* occurs first in Archilochus ap. Plutarch. *Mor.* p. 470 c where he is speaking of Gyges the Lydian prince.

⁸⁰ e.g. in Herod. III 52, v 44 where the term is applied to Telys, v 110 to the tyrants of Kypros, v 23 to Skythēs tyrant of Zanklé. Kypselos is spoken of in an oracular response as *βασιλεὺς κλεινοῦ Κορίνθου*, v 92, 5, and immediately afterwards Herodotus calls his government a *τυραννίς*. Thucydides I 13 contrasts *τυραννίδες* with limited hereditary monarchies (*ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς γέραςι πατρικαὶ βασιλείαι*).

⁸¹ Herod. I 7 ἦν Κανδαυλὴς τύραννος Σαρδῶων, VIII 181.

velopment of democracy. The distinction between the latter as something worthy of universal reprobation⁸² and the former as an object worthy of love and affection was an immediate outcome of a deviation from paternal government on the part of the tyranny and its adoption of a system of cruelty and unnatural oppression.

The ancient τυραννίς must be regarded as a singular feature of ancient society and one of the chief links in the development of political phenomena in the history of the Hellenic states. It was not an immediate continuation of, or a degeneration from, the princely power of the early age, since republican institutions in fact formed the link by which it was connected with the ancient kingship⁸³. It began in demagogy in this way:—

In most of the Hellenic states from the seventeenth century till the middle of the fifth B.C. the

⁸² Cp. Polyb. II c. 59 where it is said of Aristomachos of Argos: οὐ μόνον αὐτὸν γεγονέναι τύραννον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ τυράννων πεφυκέναι. ταύτης δὲ μείζω κατηγορίαν ἢ πικροτέραν οὐδ' ἂν εἰπεῖν ῥαδίως δύναται' ἂν οὐδεὶς· αὐτὸ γὰρ τοῦνομα περιέχει τὴν ἀσεβεστάτην ἔμφασιν καὶ πάσας περιέληψε τὰς ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀδικίας καὶ παρανομίας, Eur. *Suppl.* 429

οὐδὲν τυράννου δυσμενέστερον πόλει,
 ὅπου τὸ μὲν πρῶτιστον οὐκ εἰσὶν νόμοι
 κοινοί, κρατεῖ δ' εἰς, τὸν νόμον κεκτημένος
 αὐτὸς παρ' αὐτῷ.

⁸³ Cornelius Nepos *Milt.* c. 8, 3: *omnes autem et dicuntur et habentur tyranni, qui potestate sunt perpetua in ea civitate, quae libertate usa est.*

oligarchical factions that had overthrown and succeeded the kingly authority had in their turn been conquered, and this double revolution was sufficient evidence that the principles of durable government were wanting. There were neither traditions nor laws strong enough to restrain men⁸⁴. Everything was decided by force. Bold and energetic men put themselves at the head of the people, and the first demagogues were soldiers⁸⁵. After having flattered the Commons and acted as their champions against

⁸⁴ Aristot. *Pol.* viii (v) c. 10, p. 131C^b, 7: ὑπάρχει δ' ἡ γένησις εὐθὺς ἐξ ἐναντίων ἐκατέρᾳ τῶν μοναρχιῶν (sc. kingship and tyranny)· ἡ μὲν γὰρ βασιλεία πρὸς βοήθειαν τὴν ἐπὶ τὸν δῆμον τοῖς ἐπιεικέσι γέγονεν, καὶ καθίσταται βασιλεὺς ἐκ τῶν ἐπιεικῶν καθ' ὑπεροχὴν ἀρετῆς ἢ πράξεων τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἢ καθ' ὑπεροχὴν τοιοῦτου γένους, ὁ δὲ τύραννος ἐκ τοῦ δήμου καὶ τοῦ πλῆθους ἐπὶ τοὺς γνωρίμους, ὅπως ὁ δῆμος ἀδικῆται μὴ δὲν ὑπ' αὐτῶν i.e. 'the origin to begin with of each of these two forms of monarchical government is different. Kingship is instituted for the protection of the better classes against the commons, and a king is appointed from among the members of the better classes on the ground of his own superiority in virtue or virtuous actions or the superiority of a virtuous race, whereas the tyrant (is taken) from the commons, i.e. the mass, to act against the notables, to save the commons from oppression by them.'

⁸⁵ Aristot. *ib.* l. 14: σχεδὸν οἱ πλείστοι τῶν τυράννων γεγόνασιν ἐκ δημαγωγῶν ὡς εἰπεῖν, πιστευθέντες ἐκ τοῦ διαβάλλειν τοὺς γνωρίμους. Cf. c. 5 p. 1305^a, 7: ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἀρχαίων, ὅτε γένοιτο ὁ αὐτὸς δημαγωγὸς καὶ στρατηγός, εἰς τυραννίδα μετέβαλλον· σχεδὸν γὰρ οἱ πλείστοι τῶν ἀρχαίων τυράννων ἐκ δημαγωγῶν γεγόνασιν i.e. 'in ancient times, whenever the functions of demagogue and general were combined in the same person, (democracies) were changed into a tyranny: for in almost all cases the ancient tyrants had once been demagogues.'

the oligarchs⁸⁶, these chieftains made them their slaves. The outcome was the same in almost all towns. A single adventurer usurped the sovereign power and ruled arbitrarily. The safety and welfare of his fellow-citizens depended solely upon his personal proclivities. 'Some tyrannies' says Aristotle⁸⁷ 'were established in this manner, after the States had attained considerable dimensions, others at an earlier period originated with ambitious kings outstepping their hereditary rights or else holders of some supreme office in free States who converted their lawful prerogatives into tyranny⁸⁸. In all such cases their

⁸⁶ Aristot. *ib.* v c. 5 p. 1305^a, 20 οἱ προστάται τοῦ δήμου, ὅτε πολεμικοὶ γέγοντο, τυραννίδι ἐπιτίθεντο. πάντες δὲ τοῦτο ἔδρων ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου πιστευθέντες, ἡ δὲ πίστις ἦν ἡ ἀπέχθεια ἡ πρὸς τοὺς πλουσίους i.e. 'the leaders of the people, whenever they were men of military genius, used to try to make themselves tyrants; and they did so in all cases because they possessed the confidence of the commons, and the ground of their confidence was their hatred of the wealthy classes.'

⁸⁷ *ib.* c. 10 p. 1310^b, 16.

⁸⁸ Aristot. *ib.* c. 8 p. 1308^a, 19: οὐ γὰρ ὁμοίως ῥάδιον κακουργῆσαι ὀλίγον χρόνον ἄρχοντας καὶ πολύν, ἐπεὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐν ταῖς ὀλιγαρχίαις καὶ δημοκρατίαις γίνονται τυραννίδες· ἡ γὰρ οἱ μέγιστοι ἐν ἑκατέρᾳ ἐπιτίθενται τυραννίδι, ἐνθα μὲν οἱ δημαγωγοὶ ἐνθα δ' οἱ δυνάσται, ἡ οἱ τὰς μεγίστας ἄρχοντες ἄρχας, ὅταν πολὺν χρόνον ἄρχωσιν i.e. 'abuse of power is not so easy on the part of State officers, where the tenure of office is short, as where it is long, for it is the long tenure which in oligarchies and democracies is a cause of the establishment of Tyrannies. For it is either the most powerful in the two polities, who attempt to seize tyrannical power, viz. the Demagogues in the one, the Dynasts in the other, or else those who hold the highest official positions, whenever their tenure is a long one.'

object was easily effected, as their kingly authority or official position already gave them the power if they had but the will.' Aristotle gives as examples of tyrants of the first kind Panaetius at Leontini, Kypselus at Corinth, Peisistratus at Athens, Dionysius at Syracuse and others; of the second Pheidon at Argos; of the third the Ionian tyrants and Phalaris of Agrigentum.

The beginnings of tyranny were not attended with difficulty. The people in their hostility to the rich and powerful supported the usurper, and applauded their spoliation and proscription. But little by little distrust of their new master began to spread among the commons. Meetings and reunions became objects of suspicion to the tyrant, who preferred that the citizens should remain unknown to one another, since isolation and silence rendered them more easy to govern.

In speaking of the vices of Tyranny the same philosopher says that it combines in itself the worst features of extreme democracy ^{Vices of tyranny.} and extreme oligarchy: from the first it borrows its hostility to the citizens of position (τοῖς γυνωρίμοις), whom it regards as rivals and obstacles to the tyrant's authority and so puts them to death both secretly and openly and banishes them from the State; from the second, the pursuit of wealth as the chief end (as enabling the possessor to maintain his body-guard and to gratify his luxurious lusts) and its distrust of the masses (which leads to a general disarmament and oppression of the common people)⁸⁹. Periander

⁸⁹ *ib.* VIII (v) p. 1311^a, 8 ὅτι δ' ἡ τυραννὶς ἔχει κακὰ καὶ τὰ τῆς δημοκρατίας καὶ τὰ τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας, φανερόν· ἐκ μὲν ὅτι

of Corinth was credited with being the author of the demoralising policy traditionally recommended to tyrants. The tyrant was to get rid of prominent characters, to prohibit common meals, clubs and intellectual gatherings, all free social intercourse for relaxation and discussion (which was everything to a Greek community), to discourage education and all that tends to develop high spirit and self-confidence, to do all in his power to prevent his subjects from coming to know or trust each other, and to keep them in a perpetual state of slavery⁹⁰. Other objectionable expedients for securing the continuance of tyranny are to employ spies and eaves-droppers⁹¹; to promote disunion and sow distrust between individuals, to set class against class, to impoverish his

γαρχίας τὸ τὸ τέλος εἶναι πλούτων (οὕτω γὰρ καὶ διαμένειν ἀναγκαῖον μόνως τὴν τε φυλακὴν καὶ τὴν τρυφήν) καὶ τὸ τῷ πλήθει μηδὲν πιστεῦειν (διο καὶ τὴν παραίρεσιν ποιοῦνται τῶν ὕπλων, καὶ τὸ κακοῦν τὸν ὅχλον καὶ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ ἀστεος ἀπειλαύνειν καὶ διοικίζειν ἀμφοτέρων κοινόν, καὶ τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας καὶ τῆς τυραννίδος), ἐκ δημοκρατίας δὲ τὸ πολεμεῖν τοῖς γνωρίμοις καὶ διαφθεῖρειν λάθρᾳ καὶ φανερώς καὶ φυγαδεύειν ὡς ἀντιτέχνους καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐμποδίσους. Cf. Hier. II 17, v 1, 2.

⁹⁰ *ib.* p. 1313^a, 86 τούτων (of the modes in which tyrannies are preserved) τὰ πολλὰ φασὶ καταστήσαι Περικλῆδρον τὸν Κορίνθιον· ἔστι δὲ τὰ τε πάλαι λεχθέντα πρὸς σωτηρίαν, ὡς οἶόν τε, τῆς τυραννίδος, τὸ τοὺς ὑπερέχοντας κολουεῖν καὶ τοὺς φρονηματίας ἀναίρειν, καὶ μήτε συσσίτια ἔαν μήτε ἑταιρίαν μήτε παιδείαν μήτε ἄλλο μηδὲν τοιούτων, ἀλλὰ πάντα φυλάττειν ὅθεν εἴωθε γενέσθαι δύο, φρόνημά τε καὶ πίστις, καὶ μήτε σχολὰς μήτε ἄλλους συλλόγους ἐπιτρέπειν γίνεσθαι σχολαστικούς, καὶ πάντα ποιεῖν ἐξ ὧν ὅτι μάλιστα ἀγνώτες ἀλλήλοις ἔσονται πάντες (ἡ γὰρ γνῶσις πίστιν ποιεῖ μᾶλλον πρὸς ἀλλήλους).

⁹¹ See above note 28.

subjects for the support of a body-guard and by costly works (such as the pyramids, the votive offerings of the Kypselidae, the great Olympieion of the Peisistratids and the works of Polykrates at Samos), to be always at war that his subjects may be in continual need of a leader and be kept in constant employment⁹². Heavy taxation was also employed by tyrants, as by Dionysius, who made the Syracusans pay in taxes in five years the full amount of their property⁹³. Again the tyrant will be fond of low people⁹⁴, who will cringe to him and serve as puppets for carrying out his purposes; he will discountenance high-minded and independent characters⁹⁵,

⁹² Aristot. *ib.* p. 1313^b, 16 καὶ τὸ διαβάλλειν ἀλλήλοις καὶ συγκρούειν καὶ φίλους φίλοις καὶ τὸν δῆμον τοῖς γνωρίμοις (*optimatibus*) καὶ τοῖς πλουσίοις ἑαυτοῖς. καὶ τὸ πένητας ποιεῖν τοὺς ἀρχομένους τυραννικόν, ὅπως μὴτε φυλακὴ τρέφεται καὶ πρὸς τῷ καθ' ἡμέραν ὄντες ἀσχολοὶ ὥσιν ἐπιβουλεύειν.

⁹³ Plato *de rep.* viii p. 506 B, p. 567 A οὐκοῦν καὶ ἵνα χρήματα εἰσφέροντες, πένητες γιγνόμενοι, πρὸς τῷ καθ' ἡμέραν ἀναγκάζονται εἶναι καὶ ἥττον αὐτῷ ἐπιβουλεύωσι; i.e. 'is it not (the tyrant's object) to impoverish his citizens by war-taxes, so that they may be forced to labour for their daily bread and so be less likely to plot against himself?' Arist. *l. c.* p. 1313^b, 28 ἔστι δὲ καὶ πολεμοποιὸς ὁ τύραννος, ὅπως δὴ ἀσχολοὶ τε ὦσι καὶ ἡγεμόνος ἐν χρεῖα διατελῶσιν ὄντες.

⁹⁴ Aristot. *ib.* p. 1314^a, 1 πονηρόφιλον ἢ τυραννίς· κολακεύμενοι γὰρ χαίρουσιν, τοῦτο δ' οὐδεὶς ἂν ποιήσκει φρόνημα ἔχων ἐλευθέρων, ἀλλὰ φιλοῦσιν οἱ ἐπικεικῆς ἢ οὐ κολακεύουσιν.

⁹⁵ Aristot. *ib.* 1314^a, 5 καὶ τὸ μηδενὶ χαίρειν σεμνῷ μηδ' ἐλευθέρῳ τυραννικόν. Cf. Plat. *l. c.* p. 567 B: ὑπεξαίρειν δὴ τούτους πάντας δεῖ τὸν τύραννον, εἰ μέλλει ἄρξειν, ὥς ἂν μὴτε φίλων μὴτ' ἐχθρῶν λῆψῃ μηδὲνα, ὅτου τι ὄφελος...ὁξέως δὲ δεῖ ὁρᾶν αὐτόν, τίς ἀνδρείος, τίς μεγαλόφρων, τίς φρόνιμος, τίς πλούσιος...τούτοις ἅπανιν ἀνάγκη αὐτῷ, εἴτε βούλεται εἴτε μὴ, πολεμῶ εἶναι καὶ ἐπιβουλεύειν ὥς δὲ

he will choose foreigners rather than citizens as his daily associates⁹⁶. In short, the three objects of a tyrant are to sow distrust among the citizens, to incapacitate them for action and to destroy their self-respect⁹⁷. The evil effects of a tyranny administered on such principles as these which, though not ineffective

The three
objects of a
tyrant.

καθήρη τὴν πόλιν i.e. 'if a tyrant is to keep up his authority, he must put all these people quietly out of the way, until he has left himself not a friend nor an enemy who is worth anything ...he must keenly notice who is manly, who high-minded, who prudent, who wealthy...whether he wishes it or not, he is compelled to be the enemy of all these and to plot against them, till he has cleared the city of them.'

These passages afford an excellent illustration of Hieron's remarks in this Dialogue ch. v § 1 f.

⁹⁶ *Aristot. ib. c. 10 p. 1314^a, 10 καὶ τὸ χρῆσθαι συσσίτοις καὶ συνημερευταῖς ξενικοῖς μᾶλλον ἢ πολιτικοῖς τυραννικόν, ὡς τοὺς μὲν πολεμικοὺς τοὺς δ' οὐκ ἀντιποιουμένους.*

⁹⁷ *ib. 27 πάντα γὰρ ἂν ἀναγάγοι τις τὰ τυραννικά πρὸς ταύτας τὰς ὑποθέσεις, τὰ μὲν ὅπως μὴ πιστεύωσιν ἀλλήλοις, τὰ δ' ὅπως μὴ δύνωνται, τὰ δ' ὅπως μικρὸν φρονῶσιν* i.e. 'for all the measures of a tyranny may be referred to one or other of these fundamental principles, viz. to prevent mutual confidence among the citizens, to incapacitate them for action and to degrade their spirit.' Cf. *ib. 15 στοχάζεται γὰρ ἡ τυραννὶς τριῶν, ἐνὸς μὲν τοῦ μικρὰ φρονεῖν τοὺς ἀρχομένους (οὐδενὶ γὰρ ἂν μικρόψυχος ἐπιβουλεύσειεν), δευτέρου δὲ τοῦ διαπιστεῖν ἀλλήλοις (οὐ καταλύεται γὰρ πρότερον τυραννὶς πρὶν ἢ πιστεύσωσί τινες ἑαυτοῖς· διὸ καὶ τοῖς ἐπικεκῆσι πολεμοῦσιν ὡς βλαβεροῖς πρὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν οὐ μόνον διὰ τὸ μὴ ἀξιοῦν ἀρχεσθαι δεσποτικῶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὸ πιστοὺς καὶ ἑαυτοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις εἶναι καὶ μὴ καταγορεύειν μήτε ἑαυτῶν μήτε τῶν ἄλλων)· τρίτον δ' ἀδυναμία τῶν πραγμάτων· (οὐθεὶς γὰρ ἐπιχειρεῖ τοῖς ἀδυνάτοις, ὥστε οὐδὲ τυραννίδα καταλύειν μὴ δυνάμειος ὑπαρχούσης).*

for their purpose, Aristotle condemns as immoral⁹⁸, must have been felt by rich and cultivated classes even more than by the poor, for to them it was deprivation of all that was best in Hellenic life⁹⁹. The philosopher suggests less objectionable means for securing its continuance. He recommends the tyrant, if he wishes to safeguard his tyranny, to approximate it to a kingship¹⁰⁰. He advises him to rule as the public-spirited and thrifty steward of the State, not, as a tyrant, wasting the public treasure, so as to excite the indignation of his subjects at seeing the money wrested from their work and thrifty labour lavished on mistresses, foreigners and artists, but giving account of all receipts and expenses¹⁰¹. He should endeavour to inspire reverence rather than fear in his subjects¹⁰² and, even if he disregards all other virtues, he should at least not disregard political

Conciliatory
measures
suggested by
Aristotle.

⁹⁸ *ib.* 12 ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα τυραννικὰ μὲν καὶ σωτήρια τῆς ἀρχῆς, οὐδὲν δ' ἐλλείπει μοχθηρίας.

⁹⁹ Newman, Aristotle's *Politics* Vol. I p. 546.

¹⁰⁰ Aristot. *l.c.* p. 1314^a, 34 τῆς τυραννίδος σωτηρία ποιεῖν αὐτὴν (τὴν ἀρχήν) βασιλικωτέραν.

¹⁰¹ *ib.* 40 δοκεῖν φροντίζειν τῶν κοινῶν, μήτε δαπανῶντα <eis> δωρεὰς τοιαύτας ἐφ' αἷς τὰ πλεῖστα χαλεπαίνουσιν, ὅταν ἀπ' αὐτῶν μὲν λαμβάνουσιν ἐργαζομένων καὶ πονούντων γλισχρῶς, διδῶσι δ' ἐταίροις καὶ ξένοις καὶ τεχνίταις ἀφθόνως, λόγον τε ἀποδιδόντα τῶν λαμβανομένων καὶ δαπανωμένων (οὕτως γὰρ ἂν τις διοικῶν οἰκονόμος ἀλλ' οὐ τύραννος εἶναι δόξειεν). Cf. *ib.* p. 1314^b, 16 ὅλως τε αὐτὸν <δεῖ> παρασκευάζειν φύλακα καὶ ταμίαν ὡς κοινῶν ἀλλὰ μὴ ὡς ἰδίων; *ib.* 37 κατασκευάζειν γὰρ δεῖ καὶ κοσμεῖν τὴν πόλιν ὡς ἐπίτροπον ὄντα καὶ μὴ τύραννον. Cf. Hier. VIII 9.

¹⁰² *ib.* 18 φαίνεσθαι μὴ χαλεπὸν ἀλλὰ σεμνόν, ἔτι δὲ τοιοῦτον ὥστε μὴ φοβεῖσθαι τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας ἀλλὰ μάλλον αἰδέεσθαι.

virtue¹⁰³; he should be moderate in his sensual indulgences and not parade them before the public¹⁰⁴; he should be particular in his religious observances¹⁰⁵, without appearing superstitious. He should dispense his honours personally, but his punishments should be inflicted by the agency of others¹⁰⁶, in a paternal spirit rather than with haughty indifference¹⁰⁷. In short, his object should be to appear in the eyes of his subjects as a householder or king, not as a tyrant, as a guardian of the public interests and not a self-seeker, to cultivate moderation and avoid all extravagance; to win the favour of the populace by flattery, that of the upper classes by affability, so that his subjects may be morally elevated instead of being degraded, and that he may be himself not an object of hatred or fear, and his power more secure and lasting¹⁰⁸.

¹⁰³ *ib.* 21 διὸ δεῖ κἂν μὴ τῶν ἄλλων ἀρετῶν ἐπιμέλειαν ποιῆται, ἀλλὰ τῆς πολιτικῆς. (Susemihl, however, adopts Madvig's reading *πολεμικῆς*.)

¹⁰⁴ *ib.* 32 μάλιστα μὲν μετρίδζειν τοῖς τοιούτοις (sc. ταῖς ἀπολαύσεσι ταῖς σωματικαῖς), εἰ δὲ μὴ, τό γε φαίνεσθαι τοῖς ἄλλοις διαφεύγειν.

¹⁰⁵ *ib.* 38 ἔτι δὲ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς φαίνεσθαι ἀεὶ σπουδάζοντα διαφερόντως. . . . δεῖ δὲ ἄνευ ἀβελτερίας φαίνεσθαι τοιούτον.

¹⁰⁶ *ib.* p. 1315^a, 6 τὰς μὲν τιμὰς ἀπονέμειν αὐτόν, τὰς δὲ κολάσεις δι' ἐτέρων. Such is the advice given by Simonides to Hieron, ix 4.

¹⁰⁷ *ib.* 21 τὰς μὲν κολάσεις πατρικῶς φαίνεσθαι ποιούμενον καὶ μὴ δι' ὀλιγωρίαν.

¹⁰⁸ *ib.* 41 δεῖ μὴ τυραννικὸν ἀλλ' οἰκονόμον καὶ βασιλικὸν εἶναι φαίνεσθαι τοῖς ἀρχομένοις καὶ μὴ σφετεριστὴν ἀλλ' ἐπίτροπον, καὶ τὰς μετρίότητας τοῦ βίου διώκειν, μὴ τὰς ὑπερβολάς, ἔτι δὲ τοὺς μὲν γνωρῆμους καθομιλεῖν, τοὺς δὲ πολλοὺς δημαγωγεῖν. ἐκ γὰρ

The rule of tyrants being generally (though not always) violent and cruel was for that very reason of short duration. The longest, that of the Orthagoridae at Sikyon (in the 27th Olympiad), lasted only a century; the next ^{The short duration of tyrannies.} most permanent was that of the Kypselidae at Corinth (about Ol. 31), which lasted between seventy and eighty years. The explanation of this is that they behaved with moderation to their subjects and submitted themselves in many cases to the laws¹⁰⁹, while Kypselus never even employed a body-guard¹¹⁰. The third longest tyranny and the last of the Hellenic continent was that of the Pisistratidae at Athens, which lasted in all thirty-five years¹¹¹. With these exceptions that of Hieron and Gelon

τούτων ἀναγκαῖον οὐ μόνον τὴν ἀρχὴν εἶναι καλλίω καὶ ζηλωτοτέραν τῷ βελτιόνων ἄρχειν καὶ μὴ τεταπεινωμένων μηδὲ μισούμενων καὶ φοβούμενων διατελεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν εἶναι πολυχρονιωτέραν.

¹⁰⁹ *ib.* p. 1315^b, 11 πασῶν ὀλιγοχρονιώτεροι τῶν πολιτειῶν εἰσιν ὀλιγαρχία καὶ τυραννίς· πλείστον γὰρ χρόνον ἐγένετο ἡ περὶ Σικυῶνα τυραννίς, ἡ τῶν Ὀρθαγόρου παίδων καὶ αὐτοῦ Ὀρθαγόρου· ἔτη δ' αὕτη διέμεινεν ἑκατόν. τούτου δὲ αἴτιον ὅτι τοῖς ἀρχομένοις ἐχρῶντο μετρίως καὶ πολλὰ τοῖς νόμοις ἐδοῦλεον... δευτέρα δὲ περὶ Κόρινθον ἡ τῶν Κυψελιδῶν· καὶ γὰρ αὕτη διετέλεσεν ἔτη τρία καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ μῆνας ἕξ... τὰ δ' αἰτία ταῦτα καὶ ταύτης· ὁ μὲν γὰρ Κύψελος δημαγωγὸς ἦν καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν διετέλεσεν ἀδορυφόρητος, Περίανδρος δ' ἐγένετο μὲν τυραννικὸς ἀλλὰ πολεμικός. τρίτη δ' ἡ τῶν Πεισιστρατιδῶν Ἀθήνησιν. οὐκ ἐγένετο δὲ συνεχής, τὰ δὲ πάντα ἔτη τριάκοντα καὶ πέντε. τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν ἡ <τῶν> περὶ Ἰέρωνα καὶ Γέλωνα περὶ Συρακούσας. ἔτη δ' οὐδ' αὕτη πολλὰ διέμεινεν ἀλλὰ τὰ σύμπαντα δυεῖν δέοντα εἰκοσι.

¹¹⁰ Herodotus v 92, 8 does not agree with this statement.

¹¹¹ B.C. 560—510. Of the 33 years from 560 Pisistratos had been tyrant 17.

at Syracuse was the longest, although it lasted only eighteen years. Besides the tyrants of Sikyon, Corinth and Athens, we find also recorded as tyrants of the earlier age, i.e. somewhere about the sixth century, Theagenes of Megara, Prokles of Epidaurus¹¹², and at a later period tyrants arose in Ionia at the same time that Gyges began to reign in Lydia. The tyranny which subsisted in the Grecian States of Asia, after the commencement of the Persian domination was less the outcome of their own political system than a Persian satrapy. Tyrants of this description were Polykrates and his brother Syloson at Samos¹¹³, Cadmus in Cos¹¹⁴, Histiaeus and Aristagoras in Miletus¹¹⁵, Lygdamis at Naxos¹¹⁶ with others¹¹⁷.

‘In Sicily the tyranny had the most prosperous career; Syracuse in particular not only followed the example of the mother-city, Corinth, but even surpassed it, and that at a time when the last tyrant of the Grecian continent, Hippias of Athens, had been expelled, and popular freedom was advancing with rapid strides. The first of the list is Phalaris in Agrigentum B.C. 565—549; he was succeeded there by Alkamenes and Alkander, apparently rather *αἰσχυρῆται* than tyrants; afterwards Therôn, who probably inherited from his father Aenesidêmus the tyranny of Leontini, where in an early age Panaetius

¹¹² Herod. iii 50.

¹¹³ Herod. iii 39, 134—149.

¹¹⁴ *ib.* vii 164.

¹¹⁵ *ib.* iv 138, v 137.

¹¹⁶ *ib.* i 61, 64.

¹¹⁷ See *Chron. Tables of Greek History* by C. Peter, Eng. tr. by G. Chawner, Cambridge, 1882, p. 18.

had been tyrant; but marching from Agrigentum he afterwards expelled the tyrant Texillos of Himera, the son-in-law of Anaxilas the Rhegian, and likewise reigned over Himera. His son Thrasydaeus was expelled (B.C. 473) by the Agrigentines. Pythagoras was tyrant of Selinus at the time the noble Dorieus came from Sparta to Sicily (B.C. 519); the companion of the latter, Euryleon, deposed Pythagoras and then reigned over Minoa (Herod. v 46) as well as Selinus. The civil dissensions in Gela ended with the tyranny of Kleander (B.C. 505); he was (B.C. 498) succeeded by his brave brother Hippokratês, who reduced Zankle (Herod. vi 23, 24), where Scythês, the father of Kadmos, the subsequent tyrant of Kos, had ruled before; he was followed by Gelon. Gelon transferred (B.C. 485) the tyranny to Syracuse, whither he brought back the expelled γάμοροι, and extended his authority far around, over Megara, Euboea etc. (Herod. vii 155, 156); after him governed Hieron and then Thrasybulos, his brothers. The latter of these was driven out by the people (B.C. 466). Lower Italy likewise had its tyrants; Anaxilas in Rhegium in B.C. 493; after him in B.C. 476 his noble-minded slave Smikythos, guardian of the children of Anaxilas, who were expelled soon after their accession to power: Kleinias in Krotôn; Telys in Sybaris, originally a demagogue hostile to the nobility, Nearchos or Demylos in Elea, B.C. 500; and in the Campanian Cuma, Aristodêmus or Malakus, who was contemporary with the younger Tarquin.⁷ WACHSMUTH *Historical Antiquities of the Greeks* Vol. I p. 407 f. E. Tr.

The Spartans were especially active in expelling the tyrants and this policy was one of the causes which secured for them the hegemony of Greece¹¹⁸.

¹¹⁸ Aristot. *Pol.* p. 1312^b, 7 Λακεδαιμόνιοι πλείστας κατέλυσαν τυραννίδας. Cf. Herod. v 92, Thuc. i 18 who extols Sparta as the

deliverer of the Hellenic continent from tyrants. His testimony is strictly admissible only so far as it relates to Athens, but it is of sufficient importance to warrant us in applying it more extensively. Plutarch *de malign. Herod.* c. 21 *καὶ τοὶ πόλιν ἐν τοῖς τότε χρόνοις οὐτε φιλότιμον οὕτως οὐτε μισοτύραννον ἴσμεν, ὡς τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων, γενομένην*; but the examples, which he has collected in support of his assertion, are a number of doubtful statements made in a spirit of opposition to Herodotus. See Wachsmuth *l.c.* i p. 421 f.

ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ

ΙΕΡΩΝ Η ΤΥΡΑΝΝΙΚΟΣ

Σιμωνίδης ὁ ποιητῆς ἀφίκετό ποτε πρὸς Ἰ
Ἱέρωνα τὸν τύραννον. σχολῆς δὲ γενομένης
ἀμφοῖν εἶπεν ὁ Σιμωνίδης· Ἄρ' ἂν μοι ἐβελήσαις,
ὦ Ἱέρων, διηγῆσασθαι ἃ εἰκὸς εἰδέναι σε βέλτιον
5 ἐμοῦ;

Καὶ ποῖα ταῦτ' ἐστίν, ἔφη ὁ Ἱέρων, ὅποια δὴ
ἐγὼ βέλτιον ἂν εἰδείην σου οὕτως ὄντος σοφοῦ
ἀνδρός;

Οἶδά σε, ἔφη, ἐγὼ καὶ ἰδιώτην γεγενημένον καὶ 2
10 νῦν τύραννον ὄντα· εἰκὸς οὖν ἀμφοτέρων πεπειρα-
μένον εἰδέναι σε μᾶλλον ἐμοῦ, πῇ διαφέρει ὁ
τυραννικὸς καὶ ἰδιωτικὸς βίος εἰς εὐφροσύνας τε
καὶ λύπας ἀνθρώποις.

Τί οὖν, ἔφη ὁ Ἱέρων, οὐχὶ σύ, ἐπεὶ νῦν γε ἔτι 3
15 ἰδιώτης εἶ, ὑπέμνησάς με τὰ ἐν τῷ ἰδιωτικῷ βίῳ;
οὕτω γὰρ ἂν σοι οἶμαι μάλιστα ἐγὼ δύνασθαι
δηλοῦν τὰ διαφέροντα ἐν ἐκατέρῳ.

Οὕτω δὴ ὁ Σιμωνίδης εἶπε· Τοὺς μὲν δὴ ἰδιώτας 4
ἔγωγε, ὦ Ἱέρων, δοκῶ μοι καταμεμαθηκέναι διὰ
20 μὲν τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ὁράμασιν ἡδομένους τε καὶ

ἀχθομένους, διὰ δὲ τῶν ὥτων ἀκούσμασι, διὰ δὲ
 τῶν ῥινῶν ὀσμαῖς, διὰ δὲ τοῦ στόματος σίτοις τε
 5 καὶ ποτοῖς· τὰ δὲ ψύχῃ καὶ θάλπῃ καὶ σκληρὰ
 καὶ μαλακὰ καὶ κούφα καὶ βαρέα ὅλφ τῷ σώματί
 μοι δοκοῦμεν, ἔφη, κρίνοντες ἥδεσθαί τε καὶ 25
 λυπεῖσθαι ἐπ' αὐτοῖς· ἀγαθοῖς δὲ καὶ κακοῖς
 ἔστι μὲν ὅτε δι' αὐτῆς τῆς ψυχῆς μοι δοκοῦμεν
 ἥδεσθαί τε καὶ λυπεῖσθαι, ἔστι δ' ὅτε κοινῇ διὰ
 6 τε τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ διὰ τοῦ σώματος. τῷ δ' ὕπνῳ
 ὅτι μὲν ἠδόμεθα, δοκῶ μοι αἰσθάνεσθαι, ὅπως δὲ 30
 καὶ ᾤτινι καὶ ὁπότε, ταῦτα μᾶλλον πῶς, ἔφη, δοκῶ
 μοι ἀγνοεῖν. καὶ οὐδὲν ἴσως τοῦτο θαυμαστόν, εἰ τὰ
 ἐν τῷ ἐγγηγορέναι σαφεστέρας ἡμῖν τὰς αἰσθήσεις
 παρέχεται ἢ τὰ ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ.

7 Πρὸς ταῦτα δὴ ὁ Ἱέρων ἀπεκρίνατο· Ἐγὼ μὲν 35
 τοῖνον, ἔφη, ὦ Σιμωνίδῃ, ἕξω τούτων ὧν εἴρηκας
 σύ γε οὐδ' ὅπως ἂν αἰσθιοιτό τινος ἄλλου ὁ τύραννος
 ἔχοιμ' ἂν εἰπεῖν, ὥστε μέχρι γε τούτου οὐκ οἶδ'
 ἐν τίνι διαφέρει ὁ τυραννικός βίος τοῦ ἰδιωτικοῦ.

8 Καὶ ὁ Σιμωνίδης εἶπεν· Ἄλλ' ἐν τοῖσδε, ἔφη, 40
 διαφέρει· πολλαπλάσια μὲν δι' ἐκάστου τούτων
 εὐφραίνεται, πολὺ δὲ μείω τὰ λυπηρὰ ἔχει.

Καὶ ὁ Ἱέρων εἶπεν· Οὐχ οὕτως ἔχει, ὦ Σιμωνί-
 δη, ταῦτα, ἀλλ' εὖ ἴσθ' ὅτι μείω πολὺ εὐφραίνονται
 οἱ τύραννοι τῶν μετρίως διαγόντων ἰδιωτῶν, πολὺ 45
 δὲ πλείω καὶ μείζω λυποῦνται.

9 Ἀπιστα λέγεις, ἔφη ὁ Σιμωνίδης. εἰ γὰρ οὕτω
 ταῦτ' εἶχε, πῶς ἂν πολλοὶ μὲν ἐπεθύμουν τυραν-
 νεῖν, καὶ ταῦτα τῶν δοκούντων ἰκανωτάτων ἀνδρῶν
 εἶναι; πῶς δὲ πάντες ἐζήλουν ἂν τοὺς τυράννους; 50

"Οτι ναὶ μὰ τὸν Δί', ἔφη ὁ Ἱέρων, ἄπειροι ὄντες 10
 ἀμφοτέρων τῶν ἔργων σκοποῦνται περὶ αὐτοῦ.
 ἐγὼ δὲ πειράσομαί σε διδάσκειν, ὅτι ἀληθῆ λέγω,
 ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τῆς ὄψεως· ἐντεῦθεν γὰρ καὶ σὲ
 55 δοκῶ μεμνήσθαι ἀρξάμενον λέγειν. πρῶτον μὲν 11
 γὰρ ἐν τοῖς διὰ τῆς ὄψεως θεάμασι λογιζόμενος
 εὐρίσκω μειονεκτοῦντας τοὺς τυράννους. ἄλλα μὲν
 γε ἐν ἄλλῃ χώρᾳ ἐστὶν ἀξιοθέατα· ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων
 ἕκαστα οἱ μὲν ἰδιῶται ἔρχονται, καὶ εἰς πόλεις ἄς
 60 ἂν βούλωνται θεαμάτων ἕνεκα καὶ εἰς τὰς κοινὰς
 πανηγύρεις, ἔνθα τὰ ἀξιοθεατότατα δοκεῖ ἀνθρώ-
 ποις συναγείρεσθαι. οἱ δὲ τύραννοι οὐ μάλα 12
 ἀμφὶ θεωρίας ἔχουσιν. οὔτε γὰρ ἰέναι αὐτοῖς
 ἀσφαλὲς ὅπου μὴ κρείττονες τῶν παρόντων μέλ-
 65 λουσιν ἔσεσθαι, οὔτε τὰ οἴκοι κέκτηνται ἐχυρά,
 ὥστε ἄλλοις παρακαταθεμένους ἀποδημεῖν. φοβε-
 ρὸν γάρ, μὴ ἅμα στερηθῶσι τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ ἀδύνατοι
 γένωνται τιμωρήσασθαι τοὺς ἀδικήσαντας. εἵποισ 13
 οὖν ἂν ἴσως σύ, Ἄλλ', ἄρα ἔρχεται αὐτοῖς τὰ
 70 τοιαῦτα καὶ οἴκοι μένουσι. ναὶ μὰ Δί', ὦ
 Σιμωνίδη, ὀλίγα γε τῶν πολλῶν καὶ ταῦτα
 τοιαῦτα ὄντα οὕτω τίμια πωλεῖται τοῖς τυράννοις,
 ὥστε οἱ ἐπιδεικνύμενοι καὶ ὅτιοῦν ἀξιούσι πολλα-
 πλάσια λαβόντες ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ ἀπιέναι παρὰ
 75 τοῦ τυράννου ἢ ὅσα ἐν παντὶ τῷ βίῳ παρὰ
 πάντων τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων κτῶνται.

Καὶ ὁ Σιμωνίδης εἶπεν· Ἄλλ', εἰ τοῖς θεάμασι 14
 μειονεκτεῖτε, διὰ γέ τοι τῆς ἀκοῆς πλεονεκτεῖτε.
 ἐπεὶ τοῦ μὲν ἡδίστου ἀκροάματος, ἐπαίνου, οὐποτε
 80 σπανίζετε· πάντες γὰρ οἱ παρόντες ὑμῖν πάντα

καὶ ὅσ' ἂν λέγητε καὶ ὅσ' ἂν ποιῇτε ἐπαινοῦσι.
τοῦ δ' αὖ χαλεπωτάτου ἀκροάματος, λοιδορίας,
ἀνήκοοι ἐστέ· οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἐθέλει τύραννον κατ'
ὀφθαλμοὺς κακηγορεῖν.

- 15 Καὶ ὁ Ἱέρων εἶπε· Καὶ τί οἶει, ἔφη, τοὺς μὴ ⁸⁵
λέγοντας κακῶς εὐφραίνειν, ὅταν εἰδῇ τις σαφῶς
ὅτι οἱ σιωπῶντες οὗτοι πάντες κακόνοι εἰσὶ τῷ
τυράννῳ; ἢ τοὺς ἐπαινοῦντας τί δοκεῖς εὐφραί-
νειν, ὅταν ὑποπτοὶ ὦσιν ἔνεκα τοῦ κολακεύειν τοὺς
ἐπαίνους ποιεῖσθαι; ⁹⁰

- 16 Καὶ ὁ Σιμωνίδης εἶπε· Τοῦτο μὲν δὴ ναὶ μὰ τὸν
Δία ἔγωγέ σοι, Ἱέρων, πάννυ συγχωρῶ, τοὺς ἐπαί-
νους παρὰ τῶν ἐλευθερωτάτων ἡδίστους εἶναι,
ἀλλ', ὁρᾷς, ἐκεῖνό γε οὐκ ἂν ἔτι πείσαις ἀνθρώπων
οὐδένα, ὥς οὐχί, δι' ὧν τρεφόμεθα οἱ ἄνθρωποι, ⁹⁵
πολὺ πλείω ὑμεῖς ἐν αὐτοῖς εὐφραίνεσθε.

- 17 Καὶ οἰδά γε, ἔφη, ὦ Σιμωνίδη, ὅτι τούτῳ κρίν-
ουσιν οἱ πλείστοι ἥδιον ἡμᾶς καὶ πίνειν καὶ ἐσθίειν
τῶν ἰδιωτῶν, ὅτι δοκοῦσι καὶ αὐτοὶ ἥδιον ἂν
δειπνήσαι τὸ ἡμῖν παρατιθέμενον δείπνον ἢ τὸ ¹⁰⁰
ἑαυτοῖς· τὸ γὰρ τὰ εἰωθότα ὑπερβάλλον, τοῦτο

- 18 παρέχει τὰς ἡδονάς. διὸ καὶ πάντες ἄνθρωποι ἡδέως
προσδέχονται τὰς ἐορτὰς πλὴν οὐχ οἱ τύραννοι·
ἐκπλεῖν γὰρ αὐτοῖς αἰεὶ παρεσκευασμένοι οὐδεμίαν
ἐν ταῖς ἐορταῖς ἔχουσιν αἰ τράπεζαι αὐτῶν ἐπίδοσιν· ¹⁰⁵
ὥστε ταύτῃ πρῶτον τῇ εὐφροσύνῃ τῆς ἐλπίδος

- 19 μειονεκτοῦσι τῶν ἰδιωτῶν. ἔπειτα δ', ἔφη, ἐκεῖνο
εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι καὶ σὺ ἔμπειρος εἶ, ὅτι ἴσῳ ἂν πλείω
τις παραθῇται τὰ περιττὰ τῶν ἱκανῶν, τοσούτῳ
θᾶττον κόρος ἐμπίπτει τῆς ἐδωδῆς· ὥστε καὶ τῷ ¹¹⁰

χρόνῳ τῆς ἡδονῆς μειονεκτεῖ ὁ παρατιθέμενος
πολλὰ τῶν μετρίως διαιτωμένων.

Ἄλλὰ ναὶ μὰ Δί, ἔφη ὁ Σιμωνίδης, ὅσον ἂν 20
χρόνον ἡ ψυχὴ προσίηται, τοῦτον πολὺ μᾶλλον
115 ἡδονταὶ οἱ ταῖς πολυτελεστέραις παρασκευαῖς
τρεφόμενοι τῶν τὰ εὐτελέστερα παρατιθεμένων.

Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη ὁ Ἰέρων, ὦ Σιμωνίδη, τὸν ἐκάστῳ 21
ἡδόμενον μάλιστα, τοῦτον οἶει καὶ ἐρωτικώτατα
ἔχειν τοῦ ἔργου τούτου;

120 Πάνυ μὲν οὖν, ἔφη.

Ἦ οὖν ὁρᾷς τι τοὺς τυράννους ἡδίων ἐπὶ τὴν
ἑαυτῶν παρασκευὴν ἰόντας ἢ τοὺς ἰδιώτας ἐπὶ τὴν
ἑαυτῶν;

Οὐ μὰ τὸν Δί, ἔφη, οὐ μὲν οὖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ
125 ἀγλευκέστερον, ὥς πολλοῖς ἂν δόξειε.

Τί γάρ, ἔφη ὁ Ἰέρων, τὰ πολλὰ ταῦτα μηχανή- 22
ματα κατανενόηκας, ἃ παρατίθεται τοῖς τυράννοις,
ὀξέα καὶ δριμέα καὶ στρυφνὰ καὶ τὰ τούτων
ἀδελφά;

130 Πάνυ μὲν οὖν, ἔφη ὁ Σιμωνίδης, καὶ πάνυ γέ μοι
δοκοῦντα παρὰ φύσιν εἶναι ταῦτα ἀνθρώποις.

Ἄλλο τι οὖν οἶει, ἔφη ὁ Ἰέρων, ταῦτα τὰ ἐδέσ- 23
ματα εἶναι ἢ μαλακῆς καὶ ἀσθενούσης τρυφῇ
ψυχῆς ἐπιθυμήματα; ἐπεὶ οἷ γε ἡδέως ἐσθίοντες
135 καὶ σύ που οἶσθα ὅτι οὐδὲν προσδέονται τούτων
τῶν σοφισμάτων.

Ἄλλὰ μέντοι, ἔφη ὁ Σιμωνίδης, τῶν γε πολυ- 24
τελῶν ὁσμῶν τούτων, αἷς χρίεσθε, τοὺς πλησιά-
ζοντας οἶμαι μᾶλλον ἀπολαύειν ἢ αὐτοὺς ὑμᾶς,
140 ὥσπερ γε καὶ τῶν ἀχαρίτων ὁσμῶν οὐκ αὐτοὺς ὁ

βεβρωκῶς αἰσθάνεται, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον οἱ πλησιάζοντες.

25 Οὕτω μέντοι, ἔφη ὁ Ἱέρων, καὶ τῶν σίτων ὁ μὲν ἔχων παντοδαπὰ ἀεὶ οὐδὲν μετὰ πόθου αὐτῶν λαμβάνει· ὁ δὲ σπανίσας τινός, οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ μετὰ 145 χαρᾶς πιμπλάμενος, ὅταν αὐτῷ προφανῇ τι.

11 Πρὸς ταῦτα δὲ εἶπεν ὁ Σιμωνίδης· Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν πάνυ ἔμοιγε μικρὰ δοκεῖ εἶναι ἅ σὺ λέγεις. πολλοὺς γάρ, ἔφη, ἔγωγέ ὄρω τῶν δοκούντων ἀνδρῶν εἶναι ἐκόντας μειονεκτοῦντας καὶ σίτων καὶ 2 ποτῶν καὶ ὄψων ἀπεχομένους. ἀλλ' ἐν ἐκείνοις 5 γε πολὺ διαφέρετε τῶν ἰδιωτῶν, ὅτι μεγάλα μὲν ἐπινοεῖτε, ταχὺ δὲ κατεργάζεσθε, πλείστα δὲ τὰ περιττὰ ἔχετε, κέκτησθε δὲ διαφέροντας μὲν ἀρετῇ ἵππους, διαφέροντα δὲ κάλλει ὄπλα, ὑπερέχοντα δὲ κόσμον γυναιξί, μεγαλοπρεπεστάτας δ' οἰκίας καὶ 10 ταύτας κατεσκευασμένας τοῖς πλείστον ἀξίοις, ἔτι δὲ πλήθει καὶ ἐπιστήμαις θεράποντας ἀρίστους κέκτησθε, ἱκανώτατοι δ' ἐστὲ κακῶσαι μὲν ἐχθρούς, ὀνήσαι δὲ φίλους.

3 Πρὸς ταῦτα δὲ ὁ Ἱέρων εἶπεν· Ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν 15 πλῆθος τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὃ Σιμωνίδη, ἐξαπατᾶσθαι ὑπὸ τῆς τυραννίδος οὐδέν τι θαυμάζω· μάλα γὰρ ὁ ὄχλος μοι δοκεῖ δοξάζειν ὁρῶν καὶ εὐδαιμονίας 4 τινας εἶναι καὶ ἀθλίους· ἡ δὲ τυραννὶς τὰ μὲν δοκοῦντα πολλοῦ ἄξια κτήματα εἶναι ἀνεπτυγμένα 20 θεᾶσθαι [φανερὰ] πᾶσι παρέχεται, τὰ δὲ χαλεπὰ ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς τῶν τυράννων κέκτηται ἀποκε- 5 κρυμμένα, ἔνθα περ καὶ τὸ εὐδαιμονεῖν καὶ τὸ κακοδαιμονεῖν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἀπόκειται. τὸ μὲν

25 οὖν τὸ πλῆθος περὶ τούτου λεληθέναι, ὥσπερ εἶπον,
 οὐ θαυμάζω· τὸ δὲ καὶ ὑμᾶς ταύτ' ἀγνοεῖν, οἷ διὰ
 τῆς γνώμης δοκεῖτε θεᾶσθαι κάλλιον ἢ διὰ τῶν
 ὀφθαλμῶν τὰ πλείστα τῶν πραγμάτων, τοῦτό
 μοι δοκεῖ θαυμαστὸν εἶναι. ἐγὼ δὲ πεπειραμένος 6
 30 σαφῶς οἶδα, ὃ Σιμωνίδῃ, καὶ λέγω σοι ὅτι οἱ
 τύραννοι τῶν μεγίστων ἀγαθῶν ἐλάχιστον μετέ-
 χουσι, τῶν δὲ μεγίστων κακῶν πλείστα κέκτηνται.
 αὐτίκα γὰρ εἰ ἢ μὲν εἰρήνῃ δοκεῖ μέγα ἀγαθὸν τοῖς 7
 ἀνθρώποις εἶναι, ταύτης ἐλάχιστον τοῖς τυράννοις
 35 μέτεστιν· ὁ δὲ πόλεμος μέγα κακόν, τούτου πλεῖ-
 στον μέρος οἱ τύραννοι μετέχουσιν. εὐθὺς γὰρ 8
 τοῖς μὲν ιδιώταις, ἂν μὴ ἡ πόλις αὐτῶν κοινὸν
 πόλεμον πολεμῇ, ἔξεστιν ὅποι ἂν βούλωνται
 πορεύεσθαι μηδὲν φοβουμένους, μὴ τις αὐτοὺς
 40 ἀποκτείνῃ, οἱ δὲ τύραννοι πάντες πανταχῇ ὡς διὰ
 πολεμίας πορεύονται. αὐτοὶ τε γοῦν ἀπλισμένοι
 οἴονται ἀνάγκην εἶναι διάγειν καὶ ἄλλους ὀπλο-
 φόρους αἰεὶ συμπεριάγεσθαι. ἔπειτα δὲ οἱ μὲν 9
 ιδιώται, ἂν καὶ στρατεύωνταί ποί εἰς πολεμίαν,
 45 ἀλλ' οὖν ἐπειδὴν γε ἔλθωσιν οἴκαδε, ἀσφάλειαν
 σφίσιν ἡγοῦνται εἶναι, οἱ δὲ τύραννοι ἐπειδὴν εἰς
 τὴν ἑαυτῶν πόλιν ἀφίκωνται, τότε ἐν πλείστοις
 πολεμίοις ἴσασιν ὄντες. ἂν δὲ δὴ καὶ ἄλλοι 10
 στρατεύωσιν εἰς τὴν πόλιν κρείττονες, ἂν ἔξω
 50 τοῦ τείχους ὄντες οἱ ἥττονες ἐν κινδύνῳ δοκῶσιν
 εἶναι, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴν γε εἴσω τοῦ ἐρύματος ἔλθωσιν,
 ἐν ἀσφαλείᾳ πάντες νομίζουσι καθεστάναι, ὁ δὲ
 τύραννος οὐδ' ἐπειδὴν εἴσω τῆς οἰκίας παρέλθῃ
 ἐν ἀκινδύνῳ ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ἐνταῦθα δι' καὶ μάλιστα

- 11 φυλακτέον οἴεται εἶναι. ἔπειτα τοῖς μὲν ιδιώταις 55
καὶ διὰ σπονδῶν καὶ δι' εἰρήνης γίγνεται πολέμου
ἀνάπαυσις, τοῖς δὲ τυράννοις οὔτε εἰρήνη ποτὲ
πρὸς τοὺς τυραννεομένους γίγνεται οὔτε σπονδαῖς
- 12 ἂν ποτε πιστεύσας ὁ τύραννος θαρρήσειε. καὶ
πόλεμοι μὲν δὴ εἰσιν οὓς τε αἱ πόλεις πολεμοῦσι 60
καὶ οὓς οἱ τύραννοι πρὸς τοὺς βεβιασμένους·
τούτων δὴ τῶν πολέμων ὅσα μὲν ἔχει χαλεπὰ ὁ
- 13 ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι, ταῦτα καὶ ὁ τύραννος ἔχει· καὶ
γὰρ ἐν ὅπλοις δεῖ εἶναι ἀμφοτέρους καὶ φυλάττε-
σθαι καὶ κινδυνεύειν, καὶ ἂν τι πάθωσι κακὸν 65
- 14 ἡττηθέντες, λυποῦνται ἐπὶ τούτοις ἑκάτεροι. μέχρι
μὲν δὴ τούτου ἴσοι οἱ πόλεμοι· ἃ δὲ ἔχουσιν ἡδέα
οἱ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι πρὸς τὰς πόλεις, ταῦτα οὐκέτι
- 15 ἔχουσιν οἱ τύραννοι. αἱ μὲν γὰρ πόλεις δήπου
ἔταν κρατήσωσι μάχῃ τῶν ἐναντίων, οὐ ῥᾶδιον 70
εἰπεῖν, ὅσῃ μὲν ἡδονὴν ἔχουσιν ἐν τῷ τρέψασθαι
[τοὺς πολεμίους], ὅσῃ δ' ἐν τῷ διώκειν, ὅσῃ δ' ἐν
τῷ ἀποκτείνειν τοὺς πολεμίους, ὥς δὲ γαυροῦνται
ἐπὶ τῷ ἔργῳ, ὥς δὲ δόξαν λαμπρὰν ἀναλαμβάν-
ουσιν, ὥς δ' εὐφραίνονται τὴν πόλιν νομίζοντες 75
- 16 ἠὺξικένοι. ἕκαστος δὲ τις προσποιεῖται καὶ τῆς
βουλῆς μετεσχηκέναι καὶ πλείστους ἀπεκτονέει,
χαλεπὸν δὲ εὐρεῖν ὅπου οὐχὶ καὶ ἐπιψεύδονται
<τι>, πλέονας φάσκοντες ἀπεκτονέειν ἢ ὅσοι ἂν
τῷ ὄντι ἀποθάνωσιν· οὕτω καλὸν τι αὐτοῖς δοκεῖ 80
- 17 εἶναι τὸ πολὺ νικᾶν. ὁ δὲ τύραννος ὅταν ὑπο-
πτεύσῃ καὶ αἰσθανόμενος τῷ ὄντι ἀντιπράττοντάς
τινας ἀποκτείνει, οἶδεν ὅτι οὐκ αὖξει ὅλην τὴν πό-
λιν, ἐπίσταται τε, ὅτι μειόνων ἄρξει, φαιδρός τε οὐ

85 δύναται εἶναι, οὐδὲ μεγαλύνεται ἐπὶ τῷ ἔργῳ, ἀλλὰ
καὶ μειοῖ καθ' ὅσον ἂν δύνηται τὸ γεγενημένον,
καὶ ἀπολογεῖται ἅμα πράττων ὡς οὐκ ἀδικῶν
πεποίηκεν. οὕτως οὐδ' αὐτῷ δοκεῖ καλὰ τὰ
ποιούμενα εἶναι. καὶ ὅταν ἀποθάνωσιν οὓς ἐφο- 18
90 βήθη, οὐδέν τι μᾶλλον τούτου < ἔνεκα > θαρρεῖ,
ἀλλὰ φυλάττεται ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ πρόσθεν. καὶ
πόλεμον μὲν δὴ τοιοῦτον ἔχων διατελεῖ ὁ τύραννος,
οἷον ἐγὼ δηλῶ.

Φιλίας δ' αὖ καταθέασαι ὡς κοινωνοῦσιν οἱ III
τύραννοι. πρῶτον μὲν εἰ μέγα ἀγαθὸν ἀνθρώποις
ἡ φιλία, τοῦτο ἐπισκεψώμεθα. ὃς γὰρ ἂν φιλῆται 2
δήπου ὑπὸ τινων, ἡδέως μὲν τοῦτον οἱ φιλοῦντες
5 παρόντα ὀράσιν, ἡδέως δ' εὖ ποιοῦσι, ποθοῦσι δὲ
ἢν που ἀπῇ, ἥδιστα δὲ πάλιν προσιόντα δέχονται,
συνῆδονται δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῦ ἀγαθοῖς, συνεπικου-
ροῦσι δὲ ἔάν τι σφαλλόμενον ὀρώσιν. οὐ μὲν 3
δὴ λέληθεν οὐδὲ τὰς πόλεις, ὅτι ἡ φιλία μέγιστον
10 ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἥδιστον ἀνθρώποις ἐστί· μόνους γοῦν
τοὺς μοιχοὺς νομίζουσι πολλαὶ τῶν πόλεων
νηποινὶ ἀποκτείνειν, δῆλον ὅτι διὰ ταῦτα ὅτι
λυμαντήρας αὐτοὺς νομίζουσι τῆς τῶν γυναικῶν
φιλίας πρὸς τοὺς ἀνδρας εἶναι. ἐπεὶ ὅταν γε 4
15 ἀφροδισιασθῇ κατὰ συμφορὰν τινα γυνή, οὐδέν
ἤττον τούτου ἔνεκεν τιμῶσιν αὐτὰς οἱ ἄνδρες,
ἔάνπερ ἡ φιλία δοκῇ αὐταῖς ἀκήρατος διαμένειν.
τοσοῦτον δὲ τι ἀγαθὸν κρίνω ἔγωγε τὸ φιλεῖσθαι 5
εἶναι, ὥστε νομίζω τῷ ὄντι αὐτόματα τάγαθὰ τῷ
20 φιλουμένῳ γίγνεσθαι καὶ παρὰ θεῶν καὶ παρὰ
ἀνθρώπων. καὶ τούτου τοίνυν τοῦ κτήματος 6

τοιούτου ὄντος μειονεκτοῦσιν οἱ τύραννοι πάντων
 μάλιστα. εἰ δὲ βούλει, ὦ Σιμωνίδη, εἰδέναι ὅτι
 7 ἀληθῆ λέγω, ὥδε ἐπίσκεψαι. βεβαιοτάται μὲν
 γὰρ δήπου δοκοῦσι φιλίαι εἶναι γονεῦσι πρὸς 25
 παῖδας καὶ παισὶ πρὸς γονεῖς καὶ ἀδελφοῖς πρὸς
 ἀδελφούς καὶ γυναιξὶ πρὸς ἄνδρας καὶ ἑταίροις πρὸς
 8 ἑταίρους. εἰ τοίνυν ἐθέλεις κατανοεῖν, εὐρήσεις
 μὲν τοὺς ιδιώτας ὑπὸ τούτων πάντων μάλιστα
 φιλουμένους, τοὺς δὲ τυράννους πολλοὺς μὲν παῖ- 30
 δας ἑαυτῶν ἀπεκτονότας, πολλοὺς δ' ὑπὸ παίδων
 αὐτοὺς ἀπολωλότας, πολλοὺς δὲ ἀδελφούς ἐν
 τυραννίσιν ἀλληλοφόνους γεγεννημένους, πολλοὺς
 δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ γυναικῶν τῶν ἑαυτῶν τυράννους
 διεφθαρμένους καὶ ὑπὸ ἑταίρων γε τῶν μάλιστα 35
 9 δοκούντων φίλων εἶναι. οὔτινες οὖν ὑπὸ τῶν
 φύσει πεφυκότων μάλιστα φιλεῖν καὶ νόμφ συνη-
 ναγκασμένων οὕτω μισοῦνται, πῶς ὑπ' ἄλλου γέ
 IV τινος οἶεσθαι χρή αὐτοὺς φιλεῖσθαι; Ἀλλὰ
 μὴν καὶ πίστεως ὅστις ἐλάχιστον μετέχει, πῶς
 οὐχὶ μεγάλου ἀγαθοῦ μειονεκτεῖ; ποία μὲν
 γὰρ ξυνουσία ἡδεῖα ἄνευ πίστεως τῆς πρὸς
 ἀλλήλους, ποία δ' ἀνδρὶ καὶ γυναικὶ τερπνὴ 5
 ἄνευ πίστεως ὁμιλία, ποῖος δὲ θεράπων ἡδύς
 2 ἀπιστούμενος; καὶ τούτου τοίνυν [τοῦ πιστῶς
 πρὸς τινος ἔχειν] ἐλάχιστον μέτεστι τυράνφ·
 ὁπότε γε οὐδὲ σίτοις καὶ ποτοῖς πιστεύων διάγει,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτων, πρὶν ἀπάρχεσθαι τοῖς θεοῖς, τοὺς 10
 διακόνους πρῶτον κελεύουσιν ἀπογεύσασθαι διὰ
 τὸ ἀπιστεῖν, μὴ καὶ ἐν τούτοις κακὸν τι φάγωσιν
 3 ἢ πίωσιν. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ αἱ πατρίδες τοῖς μὲν

ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις πλείστου ἄξιοι· πολῖται γὰρ
 15 δορυφοροῦσι μὲν ἀλλήλους ἄνευ μισθοῦ ἐπὶ τοὺς
 δούλους, δορυφοροῦσι δ' ἐπὶ τοὺς κακούργους
 ἱπὲρ τοῦ μηδένα τῶν πολιτῶν βιαίῳ θανάτῳ
 ἀποθνήσκειν. οὕτω δὲ πόρρῳ προεληλύθασιν 4
 φυλακῆς, ὥστε πεποίηνται πολλοὶ νόμον τῷ
 20 μισαιφόνῳ μηδὲ τὸν συνόντα καθαρεύειν· ὥστε διὰ
 τὰς πατρίδας ἀσφαλῶς ἕκαστος βιοτεύει τῶν
 πολιτῶν. τοῖς δὲ τυράννοις καὶ τοῦτο ἔμπαλιν 5
 ἀνέστραπται. ἀντὶ γὰρ τοῦ τιμωρεῖν [αὐτοῖς] αἱ
 πόλεις μεγάλως τιμῶσι τὸν ἀποκτείναντα τὸν
 25 τύραννον, καὶ ἀντὶ γε τοῦ εἵργειν ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν,
 ὥσπερ τοὺς τῶν ιδιωτῶν φονέας, ἀντὶ τούτου
 καὶ εἰκόνας ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἰσθᾶσιν αἱ πόλεις
 τῶν τοιοῦτό τι ποιησάντων. Ὁ δὲ σὺ οἶε 6
 ὡς πλείω ἔχων τῶν ιδιωτῶν κτήματα ὁ τύραν-
 30 νος διὰ τοῦτο καὶ πλείω ἀπ' αὐτῶν εὐφραίνεται,
 οὐδὲ τοῦτο οὕτως ἔχει, ὡς Σιμωνίδῃ, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ
 οἱ ἀθληταὶ οὐχ ὅταν ιδιωτῶν γένωνται κρείτ-
 τονες, τοῦτ' αὐτοὺς εὐφραίνει, ἀλλ' ὅταν τῶν
 ἀνταγωνιστῶν ἥττους, τοῦτ' αὐτοὺς ἀνιᾷ, οὕτω
 35 καὶ ὁ τύραννος οὐχ, ὅταν τῶν ιδιωτῶν πλείω
 φαίνεται ἔχων, τότε εὐφραίνεται, ἀλλ', ὅταν
 ἐτέρων τυράννων ἐλάττω ἔχῃ, τούτῳ λυπεῖται·
 τούτους γὰρ ἀνταγωνιστὰς ἡγείται αὐτῷ τοῦ
 πλούτου εἶναι. οὐδέ γε θᾶττόν τι γίγνεται 7
 40 τῷ τυράννῳ ἢ τῷ ιδιώτῃ ὧν ἐπιθυμεῖ. ὁ μὲν
 γὰρ ιδιώτης οἰκίας· ἢ ἀγροῦ ἢ οἰκέτου ἐπιθυμεῖ,
 ὁ δὲ τύραννος ἢ πόλεων ἢ χώρας πολλῆς ἢ
 λιμένων ἢ ἀκροπόλεων ἰσχυρῶν, ἃ ἔστι πολὺ

χαλεπώτερα καὶ ἐπικινδυνότερα κατεργάσασθαι
 8 τῶν ιδιωτικῶν ἐπιθυμημάτων. ἀλλὰ μέντοι καὶ 45
 πένητας ὄφει οὐχ οὕτως ὀλίγους τῶν ιδιωτῶν ὡς
 πολλοὺς τῶν τυράννων. οὐ γὰρ τῷ ἀριθμῷ οὔτε
 τὰ πολλὰ κρίνεται οὔτε τὰ ἱκανά, ἀλλὰ πρὸς
 τὰς χρήσεις· ὥστε τὰ μὲν ὑπερβάλλοντα τὰ
 ἱκανὰ πολλὰ ἐστὶ, τὰ δὲ τῶν ἱκανῶν ἐλλείποντα 50
 9 ὀλίγα. τῷ οὖν τυράννῳ τὰ πολλαπλάσια ἦττον
 ἱκανά ἐστὶν εἰς τὰ ἀναγκαῖα δαπανήματα ἢ τῷ
 ιδιώτῃ. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ιδιώταις ἔξεστι τὰς δαπά-
 νας συντέμνειν εἰς τὰ καθ' ἡμέραν ὅπῃ βούλονται,
 τοῖς δὲ τυράννοις οὐκ ἐνδέχεται. αἱ γὰρ μέγισται 55
 αὐτοῖς δαπάναι καὶ ἀναγκαιόταται εἰς τὰς τῆς ψυ-
 χῆς φυλακάς εἰσι· τὸ δὲ τούτων <τι> συντέμνειν
 10 ὀλεθρὸς δοκεῖ εἶναι. ἔπειτα δὲ ὅσοι μὲν δύνανται
 ἔχειν ἀπὸ τοῦ δικαίου ὅσων δέονται, τί ἂν τούτους
 οἰκτεῖροι τις ὡς πένητας; ὅσοι δ' ἀναγκάζονται 60
 δι' ἑνδειαν κακὸν τι καὶ αἰσχρὸν μηχανώμενοι
 ζῆν, πῶς οὐ τούτους ἀθλίους ἂν τις καὶ πένητας
 11 δικαίως νομίζοι; οἱ τύραννοι τοίνυν ἀναγκάζονται
 πλείστα συλᾶν ἀδίκως καὶ ἱερὰ καὶ ἀνθρώπους
 διὰ τὸ εἰς τὰς ἀναγκαῖας δαπάνας αἰεὶ προσ- 65
 δεῖσθαι χρημάτων. ὥσπερ γὰρ πολέμου ὄντος
 αἰεὶ ἀναγκάζονται στράτευμα τρέφειν ἢ ἀπολω-
 λέναι.
 V Χαλεπὸν δ' ἐρῶ σοι καὶ ἄλλο πάθημα, ὃ Σιμω-
 νίδῃ, τῶν τυράννων. γινγνώσκουσι μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν
 ἦττον τῶν ιδιωτῶν τοὺς κοσμίους τε καὶ σοφοὺς καὶ
 δικαίους, τούτους δ' ἀντὶ τοῦ ἄγασθαι φοβοῦν-
 ται, τοὺς μὲν ἀνδρείους μή τι τολμήσωσι τῆς 5

ἐλευθερίας ἔνεκα, τοὺς δὲ σοφοὺς μή τι μηχανήσωνται, τοὺς δὲ δικαίους μὴ ἐπιθυμήσῃ τὸ πλῆθος ὑπ' αὐτῶν προστατεῖσθαι. ὅταν δὲ 2
τοὺς τοιούτους διὰ τὸν φόβον ὑπεξαιρῶνται, τίνες
¹⁰ ἄλλοι αὐτοῖς καταλείπονται χρῆσθαι ἀλλ' ἢ οἱ
ἄδικοί τε καὶ ἀκρατεῖς καὶ ἀνδραποδώδεις; οἱ
μὲν ἄδικοι πιστευόμενοι, διότι φοβοῦνται ὥσπερ οἱ
τύραννοι τὰς πόλεις μήποτε ἐλεύθεραι γενόμεναι
ἐγκρατεῖς αὐτῶν γένωνται, οἱ δ' ἀκρατεῖς τῆς εἰς
¹⁵ τὸ παρὸν ἐξουσίας ἔνεκα, οἱ δ' ἀνδραποδώδεις
διότι οὐδ' αὐτοὶ ἀξιούσιν ἐλεύθεροι εἶναι. χαλεπὸν
οὖν καὶ τοῦτο τὸ πάθημα ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ εἶναι, τὸ
ἄλλους μὲν ἡγεῖσθαι ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας, ἄλλοις δὲ
χρῆσθαι ἀναγκάζεσθαι. ἔτι δὲ φιλόπολιν μὲν 3
²⁰ ἀνάγκη καὶ τὸν τύραννον εἶναι· ἄνευ γὰρ τῆς
πόλεως οὐτ' ἂν σώζεσθαι δύναίτο οὐτ' ἂν εὐδαι-
μονεῖν· ἡ δὲ τυραννὶς ἀναγκάζει καὶ ταῖς ἑαυτῶν
πατρίσιν ἐγκαλεῖν. οὐτε γὰρ ἀλκίμους οὐτ'
εὐόπλους χαίρουσι τοὺς πολίτας παρασκευάζοντες,
²⁵ ἀλλὰ τοὺς ξένους δεινότερους τῶν πολιτῶν ποιοῦν-
τες ἡδοναὶ μᾶλλον καὶ τούτοις χρῶνται δορυφό-
ροις. ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδ' ἂν εὐετηριῶν γενομένων 4
ἀφθονία τῶν ἀγαθῶν γίγνηται, οὐδὲ τότε συγχαίρει
ὁ τύραννος. ἐνδεεστέροις γὰρ οὐσι ταπεινότεροις
³⁰ αὐτοῖς οἶονται χρῆσθαι.

Βούλομαι δέ σοι, ἔφη, ὦ Σιμωνίδη, κακεῖνας VI
τὰς εὐφροσύνας δηλῶσαι, ὅσαις ἐγὼ χρώμενος,
ὅτ' ἦν ιδιώτης, νῦν ἐπειδὴ τύραννος ἐγενόμην,
αἰσθάνομαι στερόμενος αὐτῶν. ἐγὼ γὰρ συνῆν 2
⁵ μὲν ἡλικιώταις ἡδόμενος ἡδομένοις ἐμοί, συνῆν δὲ

ἔμαντῶ, ὅποτε ἡσυχίας ἐπιθυμήσαιμι, διήγον δ' ἐν
 συμποσίοις πολλάκις μὲν μέχρι τοῦ ἐπιλαθέσθαι
 πάντων εἴ τι χαλεπὸν ἐν ἀνθρωπίνῳ βίῳ ἦν,
 πολλάκις δὲ μέχρι τοῦ ᾧδαῖς τε καὶ θαλῖαις καὶ
 χοροῖς τὴν ψυχὴν συγκαταμιγνύναι, πολλάκις δὲ 10
 μέχρι κοινῆς εὐθυμίας ἐμῆς τε καὶ τῶν παρόντων.
 3 νῦν δὲ ἀπεστέρημαι μὲν τῶν ἡδομένων ἐμοὶ διὰ
 τὸ δούλους ἀντὶ φίλων ἔχειν τοὺς ἐταίρους,
 ἀπεστέρημαι δ' αὐτὸς τοῦ ἡδέως ἐκείνοις ὀμιλεῖν
 διὰ τὸ μηδεμίαν ἐνορᾶν εὐνοίαν ἐμοὶ παρ' αὐτῶν· 15
 μέθην δὲ καὶ ὕπνον ὁμοίως ἐνέδρα φυλάττομαι.
 4 τὸ δὲ φοβεῖσθαι μὲν ὄχλον, φοβεῖσθαι δ' ἐρημίαν,
 φοβεῖσθαι δὲ ἀφυλαξίαν, φοβεῖσθαι δὲ καὶ αὐτοὺς
 τοὺς φυλάττοντας καὶ μήτ' ἀόπλους ἔχειν ἐθέ-
 λειν περὶ αὐτὸν μήθ' ὀπλισμένους ἡδέως θεᾶσθαι 20
 5 πῶς οὐκ ἀργαλέον ἐστὶ πρᾶγμα; ἔτι δὲ ξένοις
 μὲν μᾶλλον ἢ πολίταις πιστεύειν, βαρβάροις δὲ
 μᾶλλον ἢ Ἑλλησιν, ἐπιθυμεῖν δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἐλευθέρους
 δούλους ἔχειν, τοὺς δὲ δούλους ἀναγκάζεσθαι
 ποιεῖν ἐλευθέρους, οὐ πάντα σοι ταῦτα δοκεῖ 25
 ψυχῆς ὑπὸ φόβων καταπεπληγμένης τεκμήρια
 6 εἶναι; ὃ γέ τοι φόβος οὐ μόνον αὐτὸς ἐνὼν ταῖς
 ψυχαῖς λυπηρὸς ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντων τῶν
 7 ἡδέων συμπαρομαρτῶν λυμαντήρ γίγνεται. εἰ δὲ
 καὶ σὺ πολεμικῶν ἔμπειρος εἶ, ὦ Σιμωνίδη, καὶ 30
 ἤδη ποτὲ πολεμῖα φάλαγγι πλησίον ἀντετάξω,
 ἀναμνήσθητι ποῖον μὲν τινα σῖτον ἥρου ἐν ἐκείνῳ
 8 τῷ χρόνῳ, ποῖον δὲ τινα ὕπνον ἐκοιμῶ. οἷα μέντοι
 σοὶ τότε ἦν τὰ λυπηρὰ, τοιαῦτ' <ἀεί> ἐστὶ τὰ τῶν
 τυράνων καὶ ἔτι δεινότερα· οὐ γὰρ ἐξ ἐναντίας 35

μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντοθεν πολεμίους ὄραν νομίζουσιν οἱ τύραννοι.

Ταῦτα δ' ἀκούσας ὁ Σιμωνίδης ὑπολαβὼν εἶπεν·
 9 Ὑπέρει μοι δοκεῖς ἔνια λέγειν. ὁ γὰρ πόλεμος
 40 φοβερὸν μὲν, ἀλλ' ὅμως, ὦ Ἱέρων, ἡμεῖς γε ὅταν
 ὦμεν ἐν στρατείᾳ, φύλακας προκαθιστάμενοι
 θαρραλέως δείπνου τε καὶ ὕπνου λαγχάνομεν.

Καὶ ὁ Ἱέρων ἔφη· Ναὶ μὰ Δία, ὦ Σιμωνίδη·
 αὐτῶν μὲν γὰρ προφυλάττουσιν οἱ νόμοι, ὥστε περὶ
 45 ἑαυτῶν φοβοῦνται καὶ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν· οἱ δὲ τύραννοι
 μισθοῦ φύλακας ἔχουσιν ὥσπερ θεριστάς. καὶ δεῖ
 μὲν δήπου τοὺς φύλακας μηδὲν οὕτω ποιεῖν δύνασ-
 11 θαι ὥς πιστοὺς εἶναι· πιστὸν δὲ ἔνα πολὺ χαλεπώ-
 τερον εὐρεῖν ἢ πᾶν πολλοὺς ἐργάτας ὁποίου βούλει
 50 ἔργου, ἄλλως τε καὶ ὁπόταν χρημάτων μὲν ἔνεκα
 παρῶσιν οἱ φυλάττοντες, ἐξῇ δ' αὐτοῖς ἐν ὑλίῳ
 χρόνῳ πολὺ πλείω λαβεῖν ἀποκτεῖνασι τὸν τύραν-
 νον ἢ ὅσα πολὺν χρόνον φυλάττοντες παρὰ τοῦ
 τυράννου λαμβάνουσιν. ὁ δ' ἐξήλωσας ἡμᾶς, ὥς
 12 τοὺς μὲν φίλους μάλιστα εὖ ποιεῖν δυνάμεθα, τοὺς
 δ' ἐχθροὺς πάντων μάλιστα χειρούμεθα, οὐδὲ ταῦθ'
 οὕτως ἔχει. φίλους μὲν γὰρ πῶς ἂν νομίσεις
 13 ποτὲ εὖ ποιεῖν, ὅταν εὖ εἰδῇς ὅτι ὁ τὰ πλείστα
 λαμβάνων παρὰ σοῦ ἥδιστ' ἂν ὥς τάχιστα ἐξ
 60 ὀφθαλμῶν σου γένοιτο; ὃ τι γὰρ ἂν τις λάβῃ
 παρὰ τυράννου, οὐδεὶς οὐδὲν αὐτοῦ νομίζει πρὶν
 ἂν ἔξω τῆς τούτου ἐπικρατείας γένηται. ἐχθροὺς
 14 δ' αὖ πῶς ἂν φαίης μάλιστα τοῖς τυράννοις ἐξείναι
 χειροῦσθαι, ὅταν εὖ εἰδῶσιν ὅτι ἐχθροὶ αὐτῶν εἰσι
 65 πάντες οἱ τυραννόμενοι, τούτους δὲ μήτε κατα-

καίνειν ἅπαντας μήτε δεσμεύειν οἶόν τε ἦ· τίνων
 γὰρ ἔτι ἄρξει; ἀλλ' εἰδότα, ὅτι ἐχθροὶ εἰσι, τού-
 τους ἅμα μὲν φυλάττεσθαι δέη καὶ χρῆσθαι δ'
 15 αὐτοῖς ἀναγκάζεσθαι; εὖ δ' ἴσθι καὶ τοῦτο, ὃ
 Σιμωνίδη, ὅτι καί, οὓς τῶν πολιτῶν δεδίασι, χαλε- 10
 πῶς μὲν αὐτοὺς ζῶντας ὀρώσι, χαλεπῶς δ' ἀπο-
 κτείνουσιν· ὥσπερ γε καὶ ἵππος εἰ ἀγαθὸς μὲν
 εἴη, φοβερὸς δὲ μὴ ἀνήκεστόν τι ποιήσῃ, χαλεπῶς
 μὲν ἂν τις αὐτὸν ἀποκτείνει διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν,
 χαλεπῶς δὲ ζῶντι χρῶτο, εὐλαβούμενος μή τι 15
 16 ἀνήκεστον ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις ἐργάσῃται. καὶ τᾶλλα
 γε κτήματα, ὅσα χαλεπὰ μὲν χρήσιμα δ' ἐστίν,
 ὁμοίως ἅπαντα λυπεῖ μὲν τοὺς κεκτημένους, λυπεῖ
 δὲ ἀπαλλαττομένους.

VII Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα αὐτοῦ ἤκουσεν ὁ Σιμωνίδης,
 εἶπε· Ἔοικεν, ἔφη, ὃ Ἰέρων, μέγα τι εἶναι ἡ τιμὴ,
 ἣς ὀρεγόμενοι οἱ ἄνθρωποι πάντα μὲν πόνον ὑπο-
 2 δύνονται, πάντα δὲ κίνδυνον ὑπομένουσι. καὶ ὑμεῖς,
 ὡς ἔοικε, τοσαῦτα πράγματα ἐχούσης ὁπόσα 5
 λέγεις τῆς τυραννίδος, ὅμως προπετῶς φέρεσθε
 εἰς αὐτήν, ὅπως τιμᾶσθε καὶ ὑπηρετῶσι μὲν ὑμῖν
 πάντες πάντα τὰ προσταττόμενα ἀπροφασίστως,
 περιβλέπωσι δὲ πάντες, ὑπανιστῶνται δ' ἀπὸ τῶν
 θάκων, ὁδῶν τε παραχωρῶσι, γεραίρωσι δὲ καὶ 10
 λόγοις καὶ ἔργοις πάντες οἱ παρόντες ἀεὶ ὑμᾶς·
 τοιαῦτα γὰρ δὴ ποιοῦσι τοῖς τυράννοις οἱ ἀρχό-
 μενοι καὶ ἄλλον ὄντινα ἀεὶ τιμῶντες τυγχάνουσι.
 3 καὶ γὰρ μοι δοκεῖ, ὃ Ἰέρων, τούτῳ διαφέρειν ἀνὴρ
 τῶν ἄλλων ζῶν, τῷ τιμῆς ὀρέγεσθαι. ἐπεὶ σίτοις 15
 γε καὶ ποτοῖς καὶ ὕπνοις καὶ < τοῖς τοιούτοις >

πάντα ὁμοίως ἡδεσθαι ἔοικε τὰ ζῷα· ἡ δὲ φιλο-
 τιμία οὐτ' ἐν τοῖς ἀλόγοις ζῷοις ἐμφύεται οὐτ' ἐν
 ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις· οἷς δ' ἂν ἐμφύη τιμῆς τε καὶ
 20 ἐπαίνου ἔρως, οὗτοί εἰσιν ἤδη οἱ πλείστον μὲν τῶν
 βοσκημάτων διαφέροντες, ἄνδρες δὲ καὶ οὐκέτι
 ἄνθρωποι μόνον νομιζόμενοι. ὥστε ἐμοὶ μὲν 4
 εἰκότως δοκεῖτε ταῦτα πάντα ὑπομένειν ἃ φέρετε
 ἐν τῇ τυραννίδι, ἐπεὶ περ τιμᾶσθε διαφερόντως τῶν
 25 ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων· καὶ γὰρ οὐδεμία ἀνθρωπίνη
 ἡδονὴ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐγγυτέρω δοκεῖ εἶναι ἢ ἡ περὶ τὰς
 τιμὰς εὐφροσύνη.

Πρὸς ταῦτα δὴ εἶπεν ὁ Ἱέρων· Ἄλλ', ὦ 5
 Σιμωνίδη, αἱ ὑπουργίαι αἱ ὑπὸ φοβουμένων οὐ
 30 τιμαὶ εἰσι. πῶς γὰρ ἂν φαίημεν ἢ τοὺς βία 7
 ἐξανισταμένους θάκων διὰ τὸ τιμᾶν τοὺς ἀδικούν-
 τας ἐξανίστασθαι ἢ τοὺς ὁδῶν παραχωρῶντας
 τοῖς κρείττοσι διὰ τὸ τιμᾶν τοὺς ἀδικούντας παρα-
 χωρεῖν; καὶ δῶρά γε διδόασιν οἱ πολλοὶ τούτοις 8
 35 οὓς μισοῦσι, καὶ ταῦτα ὅταν μάλιστα φοβῶνται
 μὴ τι κακὸν ὑπ' αὐτῶν πάθωσιν. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα
 μὲν οἶμαι δουλείας ἔργα εἰκότως ἂν νομίζοιτο·
 αἱ δὲ τιμαὶ ἔμοιγε δοκοῦσιν ἐκ τῶν ἐναντίων
 τούτοις γίγνεσθαι. ὅταν γὰρ ἄνθρωποι ἄνδρα 9
 40 ἡγήσάμενοι εὐεργετεῖν ἱκανὸν εἶναι καὶ ἀπολαύειν
 αὐτοῦ ἀγαθὰ νομίσαντες, ἔπειτα τούτον ἀνὰ στόμα
 τε ἔχωσιν ἐπαινοῦντες, θεῶνταί τ' αὐτὸν ὥς
 οἰκεῖον ἕκαστος ἀγαθόν, ἐκόντες τε παραχωρῶσι
 τούτῳ ὁδῶν καὶ θάκων ὑπανιστῶνται φιλοῦντές τε
 45 καὶ μὴ φοβούμενοι, καὶ στεφανῶσι κοινῇ ἀρετῆς
 καὶ εὐεργεσίας ἕνεκα καὶ δωρεῖσθαι ἐθέλωσιν οἱ

αὐτοί, οὗτοι ἔμοιγε δοκοῦσι τιμᾶν τε τοῦτον ἀληθῶς
οἳ ἂν τοιαῦτα ὑπουργήσωσι, καὶ ὁ τούτων ἀξιού-
10 μενος τιμᾶσθαι τῷ ὄντι. καὶ ἔγωγε τὸν μὲν οὕτω
τιμώμενον μακαρίζω· αἰσθάνομαι γὰρ αὐτὸν οὐκ 50
ἐπιβουλευόμενον ἀλλὰ φροντιζόμενον μή τι πάθῃ
καὶ ἀφόβως καὶ ἀνεπιφθόνως καὶ ἀκινδύνως καὶ
εὐδαιμόνως τὸν βίον διάγοντα· ὁ δὲ τύραννος, ὡς
ὑπὸ πάντων ἀνθρώπων κατακεκριμένος δι' ἀδικίαν
ἀποθνήσκειν, οὕτως, ὦ Σιμωνίδη, εὖ ἴσθι, καὶ 55
νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν διάγει.

11 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα πάντα διήκουσεν ὁ Σιμωνίδης,
Καὶ πῶς, ἔφη, ὦ Ἱέρων, εἰ οὕτω πονηρόν ἐστι τὸ
τυραννεῖν καὶ τοῦτο σὺ ἔγνωκας, οὐκ ἀπαλλάττει
οὕτω μεγάλου κακοῦ οὔτε σὺ οὔτε ἄλλος μὲν δὴ 60
οὐδεὶς πώποτε ἐκὼν εἶναι τυραννίδος ἀφείτο, ὅσπερ
ἄπαξ ἐκτήσατο;

12 "Οτι, ἔφη, ὦ Σιμωνίδη, καὶ ταύτη ἀθλιώτατόν
ἐστὶν ἢ τυραννίς· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀπαλλαγῆναι δυνατὸν
αὐτῆς ἐστι. πῶς γὰρ ἂν τίς ποτε ἐξαρκέσειε 65
τύραννος ἢ χρήματα ἐκτίνων ὅσους ἀφείλετο, ἢ
δεσμούς ἀντιπαράσχοι ὅσους δὴ ἐδέσμευσεν, ἢ
ὅσους κατέκανε πῶς ἂν ἱκανὰς ψυχὰς ἀντιπαρά-
13 σχοιτο ἀποθανουμένας; ἀλλ' εἵπερ τῷ ἄλλῳ, ὦ
Σιμωνίδη, λυσιτελεῖ ἀπάγξασθαι, ἴσθι, ἔφη, ὅτι 70
τυράννῳ ἔγωγε εὐρίσκω μάλιστα τοῦτο λυσιτελοῦν
ποιῆσαι. μόνῳ γὰρ αὐτῷ οὔτε ἔχειν οὔτε κατα-
θέσθαι τὰ κακὰ λυσιτελεῖ.

VIII Καὶ ὁ Σιμωνίδης ὑπολαβὼν εἶπεν· Ἀλλὰ τὸ
μὲν νῦν, ὦ Ἱέρων, ἀθύμως ἔχειν σε πρὸς τὴν
τυραννίδα οὐ θαυμάζω, ἐπεὶ περ ἐπιθυμῶν φιλεῖ-

σθαι ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων ἐμποδῶν σοι τούτου νομίζεις
 5 αὐτὴν εἶναι. ἐγὼ μέντοι ἔχειν μοι δοκῶ διδάξαι
 σε ὡς τὸ ἄρχειν οὐδὲν ἀποκωλύει τοῦ φιλεῖσθαι,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ πλεονεκτεῖ γε τῆς ιδιωτείας· ἐπισκο- 2
 ποῦντες δὲ αὐτὸ εἰ οὕτως ἔχει, μήπω ἐκείνο
 σκοπῶμεν, εἰ διὰ τὸ μείζον δύνασθαι ὁ ἄρχων
 10 καὶ χαρίζεσθαι πλείω δύναιτ' ἂν, ἀλλ' ἂν τὰ
 ὅμοια ποιῶσιν ὃ τε ιδιώτης καὶ ὁ τύραννος, ἐννόει
 πότερος μείζω ἀπὸ τῶν ἴσων κτᾶται χάριν.
 ἄρξομαι δέ σοι ἀπὸ τῶν μικροτάτων παραδειγμά-
 των. ἰδὼν γὰρ πρῶτον προσειπάτω τινὰ φιλικῶς 3
 15 ὃ τε ἄρχων καὶ ὁ ιδιώτης· ἐν τούτῳ τὴν ποτέρου
 πρόσρησιν μᾶλλον εὐφραίνειν τὸν ἀκούσαντα
 νομίζεις; ἴθι δὴ ἐπαινεσάντων ἀμφοτέροι τὸν
 αὐτόν, τὸν ποτέρου δοκεῖς ἔπαινον ἐξικνεῖσθαι
 μᾶλλον εἰς εὐφροσύνην; θύσας δὲ τιμησάτω
 20 ἑκάτερος· τὴν παρὰ ποτέρου τιμὴν μείζονος ἂν
 χάριτος δοκεῖς τυγχάνειν; κάμνοντα θεραπευ- 4
 σάντων ὁμοίως· οὐκοῦν τοῦτο σαφὲς ὅτι αἱ ὑπὸ
 τῶν δυνατωτάτων θεραπείαι καὶ χαρὰν ἐμποιοῦσι
 μεγίστην; δόντων δὲ τὰ ἴσα· οὐ καὶ ἐν τούτῳ
 25 σαφὲς ὅτι αἱ ἀπὸ τῶν δυνατωτάτων ἡμίσειαι
 χάριτες πλεόν ἢ ὅλον τὸ παρὰ τοῦ ιδιώτου δῶρημα
 δύνανται; ἀλλ' ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ καὶ ἐκ θεῶν τιμὴ τις 5
 καὶ χάρις συμπάρεσθαι ἀνδρὶ ἄρχοντι. μὴ
 γὰρ ὅτι καλλίονα ποιεῖ ἄνδρα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν
 30 αὐτὸν τοῦτον <ἥδιον> θεώμεθ' αὖτε ὅταν ἄρχῃ ἢ ὅταν
 ιδιωτεύῃ, διαλεγόμενοί τε ἀγαλλόμεθα τοῖς προτε-
 τιμημένοις μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ ἴσου ἡμῖν οὔσι.
 ὅποτε γε μὴν ἐκ τῶν ἴσων ὑπουργημάτων μειζύνων 7

- χαρίτων ὑμεῖς τυγχάνετε, πῶς οὐκ, ἐπειδάν γε ὑμεῖς πολλαπλάσια μὲν διαπράττοντες ὠφελείν 35
 δύνησθε, πολλαπλάσια δὲ δωρεῖσθαι ἔχητε, ὑμᾶς καὶ πολὺ μᾶλλον φιλεῖσθαι τῶν ιδιωτῶν προσήκει;
- 8 Καὶ ὁ Ἱέρων εὐθύς ὑπολαβὼν, "Οτι νῆ Δί', ἔφη, ὦ Σιμωνίδη, καὶ ἐξ ὧν ἀπεχθάνονται ἄνθρωποι, ἡμᾶς πολὺ πλείω τῶν ιδιωτῶν ἀνάγκη ἐστὶ πραγ- 40
 9 ματεύεσθαι. πρακτέον μὲν γε χρήματα, εἰ μέλλομεν ἔξειν δαπανᾶν εἰς τὰ δέοντα, ἀναγκαστέον δὲ φυλάττειν ὅσα δεῖται φυλακῆς, κολαστέον δὲ τοὺς ἀδίκους, κωλυτέον δὲ τοὺς ὑβρίζειν βουλο-
 μένους· καὶ ὅταν γε τάχους καιρὸς παραστῇ ἡ 45
 πεζῇ ἢ κατὰ θάλατταν ἐξορμᾶσθαι, οὐκ ἐπιτρε-
 10 πτέον τοῖς ῥαδιουργοῦσιν. ἔτι δὲ μισθοφόρων μὲν ἀνδρὶ τυράννῳ δεῖ· τούτου δὲ βαρύτερον φόρημα οὐδέν ἐστι τοῖς πολίταις. οὐ γὰρ τυράννοις ἰσοτιμίας ἀλλὰ πλεονεξίας ἕνεκα νομίζουσι τού- 50
 τους τρέφεσθαι.
- 1X Πρὸς ταῦτα δὴ πάλιν εἶπεν ὁ Σιμωνίδης·
 'Ἄλλ' ὅπως μὲν οὐ πάντων τούτων ἐπιμελητέον, ὦ Ἱέρων, οὐ λέγω. ἐπιμέλειαι μέντοι μοι δοκοῦσιν αἱ μὲν πάνυ πρὸς ἔχθραν ἄγειν, αἱ δὲ πάνυ διὰ 5
 2 χαρίτων εἶναι. τὸ μὲν γὰρ διδάσκειν ἃ ἐστὶ βέλτιστα καὶ τὸν κάλλιστα ταῦτα ἐξεργαζόμενον ἐπαινεῖν καὶ τιμᾶν, αὕτη μὲν ἡ ἐπιμέλεια διὰ χαρίτων γίγνεται, τὸ δὲ τὸν ἐνδεῶς τι ποιοῦντα λαιδορεῖν τε καὶ ἀναγκάζειν καὶ ζημιοῦν καὶ κολάζειν, ταῦτα δὲ ἀνάγκη δι' ἀπεχθείας μᾶλλον 10
 3 γίγνεσθαι. ἐγὼ οὖν φημι ἀνδρὶ ἄρχοντι τὸ μὲν ἀνάγκης δεόμενον ἄλλοις προστακτέον εἶναι

κολάζειν, τὸ δὲ τὰ ἄθλα ἀποδιδόναι δι' αὐτοῦ
 ποιητέον. ὥς δὲ ταῦτα καλῶς ἔχει μαρτυρεῖ τὰ
 15 γινόμενα. καὶ γὰρ ὅταν χοροὺς ἡμῖν βουλώμεθα 4
 ἀγωνίζεσθαι, ἄθλα μὲν ὁ ἄρχων προτίθῃσιν,
 ἀθροίζειν δὲ αὐτοὺς προστέτακται χορηγοῖς καὶ
 ἄλλοις διδάσκειν καὶ ἀνάγκην προστιθέναι τοῖς
 ἐνδεῶς τι ποιοῦσιν. οὐκοῦν εὐθὺς ἐν τούτοις τὸ μὲν
 20 ἐπίχαρι διὰ τοῦ ἄρχοντος ἐγένετο, τὰ δ' ἀντίτυπα
 δι' ἄλλων. τί οὖν κωλύει καὶ τἄλλα τὰ πολιτικά 5
 οὕτω περαίνεσθαι; διήρηνται μὲν γὰρ ὅτι πάσαι αἱ
 πόλεις αἱ μὲν κατὰ φυλάς, αἱ δὲ κατὰ μόρας, αἱ
 δὲ κατὰ λόχους, καὶ ἄρχοντες ἐφ' ἐκάστῳ μέρει
 25 ἐφεστήκασιν. οὐκοῦν εἴ τις καὶ τούτοις ὥσπερ 6
 τοῖς χοροῖς ἄθλα προτιθείη καὶ εὐοπλίας καὶ
 εὐταξίας καὶ ἵππικῆς καὶ ἀλκῆς τῆς ἐν πολέμῳ
 καὶ δικαιοσύνης τῆς ἐν τοῖς συμβολαίοις, εἰκὸς καὶ
 ταῦτα πάντα διὰ φιλονικίαν ἐντόνως ἀσκεῖσθαι.
 30 καὶ ναὶ μὰ Δία ὁρμῶντό γ' ἂν θᾶπτον ὅποι δέοι 7
 τιμῆς ὀρεγόμενοι καὶ χρήματα θᾶπτον εἰσφέ-
 ροιεν, ὅποτε τούτου καιρὸς εἴη, καὶ τὸ πάντων γε
 χρησιμώτατον ἦκιστα δὲ εἰθισμένον διὰ φιλονι-
 κίας πράττεσθαι, ἡ γεωργία αὐτῇ ἂν πολὺ ἐπιδοίη,
 35 εἴ τις ἄθλα προτιθείη κατ' ἀγροὺς ἢ κατὰ κώμας
 τοῖς κάλλιστα τὴν γῆν ἐξεργαζομένοις, καὶ τοῖς
 εἰς τοῦτο τῶν πολιτῶν ἐρρωμένως τρεπομένοις
 πολλὰ ἂν ἀγαθὰ περαίνοιτο. καὶ γὰρ αἱ πρόσοδοι 8
 αὖξιντ' ἂν καὶ ἡ σωφροσύνη πολὺ μᾶλλον ἂν
 40 τῇ ἀσχολίᾳ συμπαρομαρτοίη. καὶ μὴν κακογυγαί-
 γε ἦττον τοῖς ἐνεργοῖς ἐμφύονται. εἰ δὲ καὶ 9
 ἐμπορία ὠφελεῖ τι πόλιν, τιμωμενος ἂν ὁ πλεῖστα

- τοῦτο ποιῶν καὶ ἐμπόρους ἂν πλείους ἀγείροι.
 εἰ δὲ φανερόν γένοιτο ὅτι καὶ ὁ πρόσδοδόν τινα
 ἄλνυον ἐξευρίσκων τῇ πόλει τιμῆσεται, οὐδ' αὐτῇ 45
 10 ἂν ἡ σκέψις ἀργοῦτο. ὥς δὲ συνελόντι εἰπεῖν, εἰ
 καὶ κατὰ πάντα ἐμφανὲς εἴη, ὅτι ὁ ἀγαθὸν τι
 εἰσηγούμενος οὐκ ἀτίμητος ἔσται, πολλοὺς ἂν καὶ
 τοῦτο ἐξορμήσειεν ἔργον ποιεῖσθαι τὸ σκοπεῖν τι
 ἀγαθόν. καὶ ὅταν γε πολλοῖς περὶ τῶν ὠφελίμων 50
 μέλη, ἀνάγκη εὐρίσκεσθαι τε μᾶλλον καὶ ἐπιτελεῖ-
 11 σθαι. εἰ δὲ φοβεῖ, ὦ Ἱέρων, μὴ ἐπὶ πολλοῖς ἄθλων
 προτιθεμένων πολλαὶ <αῖ> δαπάναι γίνωνται,
 ἐννόησον ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἐμπορεύματα λυσιτελ-
 ἔστερα ἢ ὅσα ἀνθρωποὶ ἄθλων ὠνοῦνται. ὁρᾷς ἐν 55
 ἵππικοῖς καὶ γυμνικοῖς καὶ χορηγικοῖς ἀγῶσιν ὥς
 μικρὰ ἄθλα μεγάλας δαπάνας καὶ πολλοὺς πόνους
 καὶ πολλὰς ἐπιμελείας ἐξάγεται ἀνθρώπων;
- X Καὶ ὁ Ἱέρων εἶπεν· Ἄλλὰ ταῦτα μέν, ὦ
 Σιμωνίδη, καλῶς μοι δοκεῖς λέγειν· περὶ δὲ τῶν
 μισθοφόρων ἔχεις τι εἰπεῖν ὥς μὴ μισεῖσθαι δι'
 αὐτούς; ἢ λέγεις ὥς φιλίαν κτησάμενος ἄρχων
 οὐδὲν ἔτι δεῆσεται δορυφόρων;
- 2 Naὶ μὰ Δία, εἶπεν ὁ Σιμωνίδης, δεῆσεται μὲν 5
 οὐν. οἶδα γὰρ ὅτι ὥσπερ ἐν ἵπποις οὕτω καὶ ἐν
 ἀνθρώποις τισὶν ἐγγίγνεται, ὅσῳ ἂν ἔκπλεα τὰ
 3 δέοντα ἔχωσι, τοσούτῳ ὑβριστοτέροις εἶναι. τοὺς
 μὲν οὖν τοιούτους μᾶλλον ἂν σωφρονίζοι ὁ ἀπὸ 10
 τῶν δορυφόρων φόβος. τοῖς δὲ καλοῖς κἀγαθοῖς
 ἀπ' οὐδενὸς ἂν μοι δοκεῖς τοσαῦτα ὠφελήματα
 4 παρασχεῖν ὅσα ἀπὸ τῶν μισθοφόρων. τρέφεις
 μὲν γὰρ δήπου καὶ σὺ αὐτοὺς σαυτῷ φύλακας·

15 ἥδη δὲ πολλοὶ καὶ δεσπότηται βία ὑπὸ τῶν δούλων
 ἀπέθανον. εἰ οὖν ἐν πρώτῳ τούτ' εἴη τῶν
 προστεταγμένων τοῖς μισθοφόροις, ὥς πάντων
 ὄντας δορυφόρους τῶν πολιτῶν βοηθεῖν πᾶσιν, ἅν
 τι τοιοῦτον αἰσθάνωνται· γίνονται δέ που, ὥς
 20 πάντες ἐπιστάμεθα, κακοῦργοι ἐν πόλεσιν· εἰ οὖν
 καὶ τούτους φυλάττειν εἴεν τεταγμένοι, καὶ τούτ'
 ἂν εἶδειεν ὑπ' αὐτῶν ὠφελούμενοι. πρὸς δὲ τού- 5
 τοις καὶ τοῖς ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ἐργάταις καὶ κτήνεσιν
 οὗτοι ἂν εἰκότως καὶ θάρρος καὶ ἀσφάλειαν
 25 δύναιτο μάλιστα παρέχειν, ὁμοίως μὲν τοῖς σοῖς
 ἰδίοις, ὁμοίως δὲ τοῖς ἀνὰ τὴν χώραν. ἱκανοὶ γε
 μὴν εἰσι καὶ σχολὴν παρέχειν τοῖς πολίταις τῶν
 ἰδίων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, τὰ ἐπ' αἰκίᾳ φυλάττοντες.
 πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ πολεμίων ἐφόδους κρυφαίας 6
 30 καὶ ἑξαπιναιῆς τίνες ἐτοιμότεροι ἢ προαισθῆσθαι
 ἢ κωλύσαι τῶν αἰὲ ἐν ὅπλοις τε ὄντων καὶ συντε-
 ταγμένων; ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ ἐν στρατείᾳ τί ἐστιν
 ὠφελιμώτερον πολίταις μισθοφόρων; τούτους γὰρ
 προπονεῖν καὶ προκινδυνεύειν καὶ προφυλάττειν
 35 εἰκὸς ἐτοιμοτάτους εἶναι. τὰς δ' ἀγχιτέρμονας 7
 πόλεις οὐκ ἀνάγκη διὰ τοὺς αἰὲ ἐν ὅπλοις ὄντας
 καὶ εἰρήνης μάλιστα ἐπιθυμεῖν; οἱ γὰρ συντεταγ-
 μένοι καὶ σώζειν τὰ τῶν φίλων μάλιστα καὶ
 σφάλλειν τὰ τῶν πολεμίων δύναιнт' ἂν. ὅταν γε 8
 40 μὴν γινώσιν οἱ πολῖται ὅτι οὗτοι κακὸν μὲν οὐδὲν
 ποιοῦσι τὸν μηδὲν ἀδικοῦντα, τοὺς δὲ κακουργεῖν
 βουλομένους κωλύουσι, βοηθοῦσι δὲ τοῖς ἀδικου-
 μένοις, προνοοῦσι δὲ καὶ προκινδυνεύουσι τῶν
 πολιτῶν, πῶς οὐκ ἀνάγκη καὶ δαπανᾶν εἰς τού-

τους ἥδιστα; τρέφουσι γοῦν καὶ ἰδίᾳ ἐπὶ μείοσι 45
 ΧΙ τούτων φύλακας. χρή δέ, ὦ Ἱέρων, οὐδ' ἀπὸ
 τῶν ἰδίων κτημάτων ὀκνεῖν δαπανᾶν εἰς τὸ
 κοινὸν ἀγαθόν. καὶ γὰρ ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ τὰ εἰς
 τὴν πόλιν ἀναλούμενα μᾶλλον εἰς τὸ δέον τελ-
 2 εῖσθαι ἢ τὰ εἰς τὸ ἴδιον ἀνδρὶ τυράννῳ. καθ' 5
 ἓν δ' ἕκαστον σκοπῶμεν. οἰκίαν πρῶτον ὑπερ-
 βαλλούσῃ δαπάνῃ κεκαλλωπισμένην μᾶλλον
 ἡγεῖ κόσμον ἢ σοι παρέχειν ἢ πᾶσαν τὴν
 πόλιν τελχεσί τε καὶ ναοῖς καὶ παραστάσι καὶ
 3 ἀγοραῖς καὶ λιμέσι κατεσκευασμένην; ὕπλοις δὲ 10
 πότερον τοῖς ἐκπαγλοτάτοις αὐτὸς κατακεκοσμη-
 μένος δεινότερος ἢ φαίνοιο τοῖς πολεμίοις ἢ τῆς
 4 πόλεως ὅλης εὐόπλου σοι οὔσης; προσόδους δὲ
 ποτέρως ἢ δοκεῖς πλείονας γίγνεσθαι, εἰ τὰ σὰ
 ἴδια μόνον ἐνεργὰ ἔχοις ἢ εἰ τὰ πάντων τῶν 15
 5 πολιτῶν μεμηχανημένος εἴης ἐνεργὰ εἶναι; τὸ δὲ
 πάντων κάλλιστον καὶ μεγαλοπρεπέστατον νομι-
 ζόμενον εἶναι ἐπιτήδευμα, ἄρματοτροφίαν, ποτέρως
 ἢ δοκεῖς μᾶλλον κοσμεῖν, εἰ αὐτὸς πλείστα τῶν
 Ἑλλήνων ἄρματα τρέφοις τε καὶ πέμπεις εἰς τὰς 20
 πανηγύρεις, ἢ εἰ ἐκ τῆς σῆς πόλεως πλείστοι μὲν
 ἵπποτροφοῖεν πλείστοι δ' ἀγωνίζοντο; νικᾶν δὲ
 πότερα δοκεῖς κάλλιον εἶναι ἄρματος ἀρετῇ ἢ
 6 πόλεως, ἥς προστατεύεις, εὐδαιμονία; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ
 οὐδὲ προσήκειν φημὶ ἀνδρὶ τυράννῳ πρὸς ἰδιώτας 25
 ἀγωνίζεσθαι. νικῶν μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἂν θαυμάζοιο
 ἀλλὰ φθονοῖτο, ὡς ἀπὸ πολλῶν οἴκων τὰς δαπάνας
 ποιούμενος, νικώμενος δ' ἂν πάντων μάλιστα
 7 καταγελῶτο. ἀλλ' ἐγὼ σοὶ φημι, ὦ Ἱέρων, πρὸς

30 ἄλλους προστάτας πόλεων τὸν ἀγῶνα εἶναι, ὧν
 ἐὰν σὺ εὐδαιμονεστιάτην τὴν πόλιν, ἥς προστατ-
 εύεις, παρέχῃς, εὖ ἔσει νικῶν τῷ καλλίστῳ καὶ
 μεγαλοπρεπεστάτῳ ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀγωνίσματι.
 καὶ πρῶτον μὲν εὐθύς κατειργασμένος ἂν εἴῃς τὸ 8
 35 φιλεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχομένων, οὐ δὴ σὺ ἐπιθυμῶν
 τυγχάνεις· ἔπειτα δὲ τὴν σὴν νίκην οὐκ ἂν εἰς εἴῃ
 ὁ ἀνακηρύττων, ἀλλὰ πάντες ἄνθρωποι ὑμνοῖεν
 ἂν τὴν σὴν ἀρετήν. περίβλεπτος δὲ ὧν οὐχ ὑπὸ 9
 ἰδιωτῶν μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὸ [πολλῶν] πόλεων
 40 ἀγαπῶ ἂν καὶ θαυμαστὸς οὐκ ἰδίᾳ μόνον ἀλλὰ
 καὶ δημοσίᾳ παρὰ πᾶσιν ἂν εἴῃς· καὶ ἐξείῃ μὲν ἂν 10
 σοι ἔνεκεν ἀσφαλείας, εἴ ποι βούλοιο, θεωρήσονται
 πορεύεσθαι, ἐξείῃ δ' ἂν αὐτοῦ μένουσι τοῦτο
 πράττειν. αἰεὶ γὰρ ἂν παρὰ σοὶ πανηγυρίς εἴῃ τῶν
 45 βουλομένων ἐπιδεικνύναι εἴ τίς τι σοφὸν ἢ καλὸν
 ἢ ἀγαθὸν ἔχῃ, τῶν δὲ καὶ ἐπιθυμούντων ὑπηρετεῖν.
 πᾶς δὲ ὁ μὲν παρὼν σύμμαχος ἂν εἴῃ σοι, ὁ δὲ 11
 ἀπὼν ἐπιθυμοίῃ ἂν ἰδεῖν σε. ὥστε οὐ μόνον φιλοῖο
 ἂν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐρῶ ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων, φόβον δὲ οὐκ ἂν
 50 ἔχῃς ἀλλ' ἄλλοις παρέχῃς μὴ τι πάθῃς, ἐκόντας 12
 δὲ τοὺς πειθομένους ἔχῃς ἂν καὶ ἐθελουσίως σου
 προνοούντας θεῶ ἂν, εἰ δέ τις κίνδυνος εἴῃ, οὐ
 συμμαχούς μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ προμάχους καὶ προθύ-
 μους ὀρώῃς ἂν, πολλῶν μὲν δωρεῶν ἀξιούμενος,
 55 οὐκ ἀπορῶν δὲ ὅτῳ τούτων εὐμενεῖ μεταδώσεις,
 πάντας μὲν συγχαίροντας ἔχων ἐπὶ τοῖς σοῖς
 ἀγαθοῖς, πάντας δὲ πρὸ τῶν σῶν ὥσπερ τῶν
 ἰδίων μαχομένους. θησαυρούς γε μὴν ἔχῃς <ἂν> 13
 πάντας τοὺς παρὰ τοῖς φίλοις πλούτους. ἀλλὰ

θαρρῶν, ὧ Ἱέρων, πλούτιζε μὲν τοὺς φίλους· 60
σαυτὸν γὰρ πλουτιεῖς· αὖξε δὲ τὴν πόλιν· σαυτῷ
γὰρ δύναμιν περιάψεις· κτῷ δὲ αὐτῇ συμμάχους·
14 νόμιζε δὲ τὴν μὲν πατρίδα οἶκον, τοὺς δὲ πολίτας
ἐταίρους, τοὺς δὲ φίλους τέκνα σεαυτοῦ, τοὺς δὲ
παῖδας ὅτι περ τὴν σὴν ψυχὴν, καὶ τούτους 65
15 πάντας πειρῶ νικᾶν εὖ ποιῶν. ἐὰν γὰρ τοὺς
φίλους κρατῆς εὖ ποιῶν, οὐ μὴ σοι δύνωνται
ἀντέχειν οἱ πολέμιοι. κἂν ταῦτα πάντα ποιῇς,
εὖ ἴσθι πάντων τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις κάλλιστον καὶ
μακαριώτατον κτῆμα κεκτήσῃ· εὐδαιμονῶν γὰρ 70
οὐ φθονήσῃ.

NOTES
ON
THE *HIERON*
OF
XENOPHON

N.B. The Marginal Numerals refer to the Pages of the Text.

The References to the Notes are by Chapters and Sections.
COBET refers to *Novae Lectiones* by Prof. C. G. Cobet, Leyden, 1858.

G. to Prof. W. W. Goodwin's *Greek Grammar*. Macmillan and Co.

G. *sr.* to Prof. W. W. Goodwin's *Syntax of the Moods and Tenses of the Greek Verb*. 6th Edition. 1875.

HA. to Prof. James Hadley's *Greek Grammar*, revised and in part rewritten by Prof. Fr. Allen. Macmillan and Co.

KÜHN. to *Ausführliche Grammatik der Griechischen Sprache* von Dr Raphael Kühner. Ed. 2. Hannover, 1869—1870.

MADV. to Madvig's *Syntax of the Greek Language* tr. by H. Browne. Rivingtons, 1853.

TH. to F. E. Thompson's *Syntax of Attic Greek*. Rivingtons, 1883.

STURZ to *Lexicon Xenophonticum* by F. G. Sturz. 4 vols. Leipzig, 1801—4.

VEITCH to *Greek Verbs* by W. Veitch, LL.D. Oxford, 1871.

NOTES

CHAPTER 1

Simonides, on occasion of a visit to the court of Hieron, the despot of Syracuse, asks him, as one who has personally tried the life of a private citizen and that of a despot, which of the two he considers preferable in regard to pleasures and pains (§ 1—§ 2). Before replying to his question, Hieron inquires of Simonides what are the agreeables and disagreeables of private life, and, when Simonides has recounted these, declares that he does not know any sensations of pleasure or pain that a despot is susceptible of besides those he has mentioned (§ 3—§ 7). Simonides says that, though despots may experience no other pleasures, still what they have exceed in variety and degree those of private men, while of pains they have a much smaller share (§ 8).

Hieron replies that the life of a despot has much more pain, and much less pleasure, than that of a private citizen of middling circumstances. Simonides insists on the superior means of enjoyment possessed by the despot, because otherwise so many would not have aspired to be despots, nor would despots have been the object of so much envy to all mankind (§ 9). 'Their inexperience of both conditions of life misleads them', says Hieron. 'The despot feels no greater real happiness in his own bosom; while he suffers many pains and privations of which the spectator takes no account. As to the pleasures of sight, the despot forfeits altogether the first and greatest, because it is unsafe for him to travel abroad or visit the public festivals and matches' (§ 10—§ 13).

'Well' replies Simonides 'at all events despots have the advantage of us in what they hear, if not in what they see. Their ears are always gratified by praise, while they escape the unpleasantness of censure and detraction' (§ 14).

To this Hieron replies 'There is not much to gratify in praise which is insincere, nor in the absence of censure, which is unheard only because speakers dare not express what they really feel' (§ 15).

'I quite agree with you' says Simonides 'that disinterested praise is the pleasantest. But surely in the pleasures of the table there can be no comparison between despots and private men. The despot has finer cookery and richer unguents'. 'This' says Hieron 'is a vulgar error. A thing is pleasant in proportion to its rarity. He who but rarely meets with a delicacy enjoys it with a keener relish. As to the scent of unguents, it gives more pleasure to those who are near him than to the despot himself' (§ 16—§ 25).

- 1 § 11.1 ποτέ, 'once upon a time', G. § 87, 2. 2 σχολῆς γενομένης ἀμφοῖν, G. § 184, 4, HA. § 768. 3 ὁ Συμμενίδης: The article is used as in renewed mention. ἀρ' ἄν—ἰθελήσας, 'would you be willing?' On the use of the optative with ἄν as a potential without expressed protasis see my note to Cyr. II i 8, G. § 226, 2 (b) Note 1, MT. § 52, 2 Note, HA. § 872. 4 εἰκός, sc. ἐστίν, ix 6, x 7. 6 καὶ ποῖα, 'pray, what sort of things?' καὶ prefixed to an interrogative pronoun or particle serves to emphasize the question. ὅποι'—ἄν εἰδείην, 'such as I must know', potential opt. as above I. 3. 7 βέλτιόν σου: G. § 75. οὕτως ὄντος σοφοῦ ἀνδρός, 'such a wise man as you': οὕτως, like πολύ, πάν, μάλλον and other adverbs, is frequently separated from the adjectives or adverbs which it qualifies for the sake of additional emphasis: cf. I. 130, Oecon. II 9.

§ 2 I. 9 οἷδά σε...γεγεννημένον: G. § 280. ἰδιώτης is the 'ordinary private man', in contradistinction to one who is distinguished by his office or by the possession of some professional acquirement (ἐπαίτων). See on iv I. 32.

10 ἀμφοτέρων, i.e. τοῦ τυραννικοῦ καὶ τοῦ ιδιωτικοῦ βίου. πεπειραμένον, 'since you have had experience', G. § 277, 2. 11 πῇ, *qua ratione*, 'in what way' G. § 87, 2, HA. § 779 a. 12 εἰς εὐφροσύνας, 'in respect to enjoyments'. Cf. Anab. II vi 30 οὐδεὶς εἰς φιλίαν αὐτοὺς ἐμέμμετο, Cyr. I iii 1 πάντων τῶν ἡλικίων διαφέρων ἐφαίνετο εἰς τὸ ταχὺ μανθάνειν ἃ δέοι, Oecon. II. 4, xviii 1 δίδασκε οὖν ἐλ τι ἔχεις με καὶ εἰς τοῦτο. εὐφροσύνη is one of the many poetical words used by Xen. See Index I for a list of such words. 13 ἀνθρώποις, generically 'mankind', cf. vii 9, viii 8. For the dat. see G. § 184, 5, HA. § 771.

§ 3 l. 14 τί οὖν...οὐχὶ σὺ...ὑπέμνησάς με (for ὑπέμνησόν με), 'why do you not then at once recall to my mind?' The aorist with τί οὐ expresses a command or proposal in the more lively form of a question: cf. Cyrop. II i 4 with my note, viii iii 46 τί οὖν οὐχὶ...καὶ ἐμὲ εὐδαίμονα ἐποίησας; and see HA. § 839. 15 τὰ ἐν τῷ 18. β. scil. εὐφροσύνας τε καὶ λύπας. 16 οὕτω = *si hoc feceris*, 'so', 'in this case' (i.e. if you remind me), stands in lieu of the proper protasis τοῦ ἀν δύνασθαι: cf. Mem. I ii 59 οὐ ταῦτ' ἔλεγε, καὶ γὰρ ἐαυτὸν οὕτω γ' ἂν φέρο δειν παίσσθαι, where οὕτω stands for ἐλ ταῦτ' ἔλεγε, and see G. § 226, 1, HA. § 902. ἀν οἶμαι...δύνασθαι: G. § 136, N. 3, HA. § 940. On ἀν anticipated hyperbatically with οἶμαι see my note to Cyr. I vi 18.

§ 4 l. 18 οὕτω δὲ, *quamobrem*, not 'spake thus', in reference to what follows. μὲν δὲ, 'well then', introducing in a lively manner the full explanation of the proposed subject.

2 § 5 l. 23 τὰ ψύχη καὶ θάλαπη, '(extremes of) cold and heat'. Abstract substantives are used in plural where instances of the quality are denoted in Greek just as in Latin; see Index I and my note on Cic. de off. I. § 78 l. 3. 24 ὅλα τῷ σώματι: in opp. to the five organs of sense. Cf. Cic. de nat. deor. II § 141 *tactus autem toto corpore aequabiliter fusus est, ut omnis ictus omnisque minimos et rigoris et caloris appulsus sentire possimus.* 25 ἡδεσθαι...ἐλ

αὐτοῖς: ἐπὶ is used of the antecedent cause or ground of any mental affection, where the simple dative of cause (HA. § 778 a) might be used; for an instance of the two constructions, cf. Anab. II vi 26 ὥσπερ τις ἀγάλλεται ἐπὶ θεοσεβείᾳ..., οὕτω Μένων ἠγάλλετο τῷ ἐξαπατᾶν δύνασθαι. 27 ἔστι μὲν ὅτε...ἔστι δ' ὅτε, 'sometimes...at other times', HA. § 998 b. For the *anaphora*, cf. II 15, III 2. δὲ αὐτῆς τῆς ψυχῆς, 'with the mind alone'. Cf. Oecon. VII 3, XVII 15. 28 κοινῇ, *una*, 'jointly'; but in VII 9 it means *publice*.

§ 6 l. 30 ὅπως, indefinite relative, 'how', 'in what manner'; HA. § 1054, 3. There was a variety of opinions amongst philosophers of old—Alkmaeon, Empedoklēs, Aristotle—on the causes of sleep. 31 ᾧτινι καὶ ὁπότε, 'by what means' (not, as some, 'with what part', i.e. body or mind or both) and at what time' (i.e. when actually asleep or when falling asleep). μᾶλλον sc. ἢ ὅτι ἡδόμεθα τῷ ὕπνῳ, not as Bernhardt takes it, 'more than is right'. 32 καὶ οὐδὲν—ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ, 'and yet this surely is not at all a matter of surprise, since the sensations produced by what takes place in a waking state are more distinct than those produced in a state of sleep'; σαφές τερας, being a predicate adjective, precedes the article, cf. l. 42 and see G. § 142, 3, HA. § 618. Some take εἰ for ὅτι after a word expressive of wonder, see G. § 228, HA. § 926.

§ 7 l. 35 ἐγὼ μὲν, 'I for my part'. The μὲν refers to an opposition which is understood without being expressly mentioned as in *ἴσως μὲν*, *εἰκὸς μὲν*, *οἶμαι μὲν*, *δοκῶ μὲν*, *ὥς μὲν λέγουσιν*, which imply some possible different view or statement, cf. VII 4, XI 6. ἀπεκρίνατο—ἔφη: On the pleonastic use of ἔφη, φάναι, εἶπε, λέγει etc. see my n. on Oecon. VIII 2. 36 ἔξω τούτων ὃν εἶρηκας: G. § 153, HA. § 994. Translate 'I cannot say how a despot could possibly be sensible of anything else beyond (lit. 'outside of') what (such pleasures and pains as) you have mentioned; and consequently thus far I do not know in what respect the life of a despot differs from that of a private person'. 37 ἂν αἰσθόιντο—ἔχοιμ' ἂν: see note to § 1 l. 3. 38 ὥστε, *quo fit ut*, *quocirca*, marks

a strong conclusion. μέχρι γε τούτου, 'so far at least', 'hitherto'. οὐκ οἶδ' εἰ: *haud scio an* would have exactly an opposite meaning.

§ 8 l. 40 ἀλλά—διαφέρει: ἀλλά is often used, as here, in quick answers and objections. ἐν τοῖσδε = 'in this (the following) respect'. 41 πολλαπλάσια εὐφραίνεται (scil. ὁ τύραννος τοῦ ιδιώτου) = πολλαπλάσιος εὐφροσύνας εὐφραίνεται: see G. § 159 Note 2, HA. § 716 b. We should have expected the explanatory γάρ after μέν; but this is often omitted. Cf. de ven. v 31: τεκμήριον δέ, ὡς εὐφρόν' ἔστιν· δταν δτρεμα διαπορεύηται, πηδῶ κτλ. τούτων i.e. the organs of sense. 42 μείω τὰ λυπηρὰ ἔχει: cf. l. 32 note. 44 μείω πολὺ εὐφραίνονται, 'have much fewer pleasures and pains much more in number and greater in degree than private persons with moderate means (those in the middle ranks of life)'. For the position of πολὺ cf. the Latin *plura multo, maiora multo, ante multo, post paulo*.

§ 9 l. 47 εἰ γὰρ οὕτω ταῦτ' εἶχε—ἐπιθύμουν, 'how comes it that so many would have desired if this had been the case (which it is not)?' G. § 222, HA. § 895. If we substitute for the interrogative πῶς its equivalent negative οὐκ, the superiority of the reading in the text, which is that of Stobaeos, over the vulgate ἔχει will carry conviction with it. 49 καὶ ταῦτα, *idque*, 'and that too', often used with the participle when it stands in a concessive relation, HA. § 612 a, G. § 277 Note 1 (b). τῶν δοκούντων ἱκανωτάτων ἀνδρῶν εἶναι, 'of those who are considered to be most competent persons'. The predicate-noun with εἶναι or γίγνεσθαι stands in the genitive when it is preceded by the genitive of a participle of a verb *declarandi* or *sentienti*: cf. below ii 1, Plat. Apol. c. 7, c. 32 τῶν φασκόντων δικαστῶν εἶναι, and see HA. § 941, G. § 136 Note 3 (b), Madv. § 158. By ἱκανωτάτων Weiske and Schneider understand 'most rich and powerful' (τῶν μετρίως διαγόντων, cl. de re eq. ii 1, τίστονται μὲν γὰρ δὴ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἱππεύειν οἱ τοῖς χρήμασι τε ἱκανώτατοι καὶ τῆς πόλεως οὐκ ἐλάχιστον μετέχοντες. 50 πῶς δὲ πάντες.

the regular order should have been πῶς πάντες δέ to correspond with πῶς ἂν πολλοὶ μὲν. Cf. Anab. III iv 2 ἔπαθε μὲν οὐδέν, πολλὰ δὲ κακὰ ἐνόμισε ποιῆσαι, Mem. I vi 11 σὲ μὲν δίκαιον νομίζω, σοφὸν δὲ οὐδὲ ὁπωστίουν, for σὲ δίκαιον μὲν κτλ., I i 10 ἔλεγε μὲν (Σωκράτης) ὥς τὸ πολὺ, τοῖς δὲ βουλομένοις ἐξῆν ἀκούειν; but, though μὲν—δέ are commonly placed after the words which are severally opposed to each other, the Greeks did not always observe uniformity in this respect, referring them sometimes to the predicate, sometimes to the whole clause.

- 3 § 10 l. 52 ἀμφοτέρων τῶν ἔργων, 'of both conditions of life', i.e. the state of both the private man and the despot. This is better than to take ἀμφοτέρων, as it is taken by Bremi, Frotscher and Sauppe, as a genitive dependent upon τῶν ἔργων 'the circumstances of each', cf. Anab. v v 18 βία οὐδὲν ἐλαμβάνομεν τῶν ἐκείνων, vi v 38 Κύρου ἦσαν τοῦ ἐκείνου δούλου, Hell. vii i 13. For the above meaning of ἔργον cf. Oecon. iv 5. περὶ αὐτοῦ, scil. περὶ τοῦ τυραννεῖν.
- 54 ἐντεῦθεν, scil. ἀπὸ τῆς ὀψews, inde, 'with that'. The order is δοκῶ γὰρ μεμνησθαι (HA. § 944 a) καὶ σὲ ἀρξάμενον ἐντεῦθεν λέγειν. The phrase ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τίνος, inde a, 'beginning with any person or thing', generally agrees in gender, number and case with the substantive, of which it defines and limits the sense, almost with an adverbial signification, as in Plato Theaet. p. 171 B ἐξ ἀπάντων... ἀπὸ... Πρωταγόρου ἀρξαμένων ἀμφισβητήσεται. See my note to Cyr. I vi 8 l. 74 and Madv. § 176 (c) Rem. On the construction μεμνησθαι—ἀρξάμενον see G. § 280, HA. § 982. 56 τοῖς διὰ τῆς ὀψews θεάμασι: cf. l. 20.

§ 11 l. 57 εὐρίσκω μειονεκτοῦντας, 'I find that they are worse off'. Observe that μειονεκτεῖν (the opposite to which is πλεονεκτεῖν) may be used either (1) absolutely or (2) with the dative (a) alone (l. 77) or (b) with ἐν as here, (3) with the genitive of the thing of which one falls short, as iv l. 3, (4) with genitive of person and dative of thing (l. 107, l. 111). μὲν γὰρ see n. on viii 9. ἄλλα—ἐν ἄλλῃ χώρῃ, 'some things are worth seeing in one country, some in another'.

58 ἐπὶ τούτων ἕκαστα—συναγείρεσθαι, 'in quest of these several curiosities private men resort either to such cities as they may please for the sake of the sights in them, or to the national festivals, in which it is considered there is a collection of sights most worth seeing'. By πανηγύρεις are meant in particular the Olympian games in which Hieron so distinguished himself. Frotscher explains συναγείρεσθαι as = ὥστε συναγείρεσθαι αὐτούς. Cobet suspects that there is something wrong here and that several words have been lost. See crit. n.

59 εἰς πόλεις δὲ ἀν βούλωνται: for εἰς πόλεις εἰς δὲ ἀν βούλωνται λέγαι; cf. Oecon. x 10 εἰ κατὰ χώραν ἔχει ἥν δεῖ ἕκαστα for καθ' ἥν, Cyr. ii iv 11 with my note.

§ 12 l. 62 οὐ μάλα ἀμφὶ θεωρίας ἔχουσιν, 'have not much to do with', 'are not much concerned about public shows': cf. Oecon. vi 7 τοὺς ἀμφὶ γῆν ἔχοντας, Cyr. viii iii 20 ἀμφὶ τοὺς φίλους ἔχειν, iv ii 35 ἀμφὶ συσκευασίαν ἔχειν, iv v 14 ἀμφὶ ταῦτα ἔχον, v i 30, v 44, v iv 10 ἀμφὶ τὰ ἀρχυμάλωτα ἔχειν i. e. φυλάττειν.

64 ἀσφαλές, sc. ἐστί.

δπου μὴ, the negative μὴ is used because of the indefinite (implied) antecedent 'anywhere' (conditional relative clause): see G. § 231, HA. § 1021.

κρείττονες τῶν παρόντων, 'superior in strength to those present at them'. 65 τὰ οἴκοι, 'their affairs at home'. G. § 141, Note 3, also § 190 Note 2, HA. § 666 a, also § 220.

κείττηνται ἐχυρά, ὥστε—ἀποδημεῖν, 'possess in sufficient security (G. § 142, 3, HA. § 618) to leave them in the charge of others while they are absent from their kingdom'. See note to l. 74. 66 φοβερὸν (sc. ἐστί) μὴ, 'it is to be feared lest'.

68 τιμωρήσασθαι τοὺς ἀδικήσαντας, 'to revenge themselves on those who do them wrong' (in deposing them), 'their aggressors'. τιμωρεῖν is 'to assist one who has suffered wrong', 'to avenge' with the dative of the person avenged, the accusative of the person on whom vengeance is taken, and the genitive of the crime avenged; the middle τιμωρεῖσθαι is 'to avenge oneself upon', 'visit with punishment', with the accusative of the person and genitive of the crime. Plato de rep. ix p. 579 a draws a similar picture of the misery of a despot debarr'd

from the privileges and pleasures of travelling and seeing men and manners, and confined to the prison of his own court: *λίχνω δὲ ὄντι αὐτῷ τὴν ψυχὴν μόνω τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει οὔτε ἀποδημήσαι ἐξεστίν οὐδαμῶς οὔτε θεωρῆσαι ὧν δὴ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἐλεύθεροι ἐπιθυμηταί εἰσι, καταδεδικώς δὲ ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ τὰ πολλὰ ὡς γυνὴ ξῆ, φθονῶν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις πολίταις, ἐάν τις ἐξω ἀποδημῇ καὶ τι ἀγαθὸν ὁρᾷ.*

§ 13 l. 68 *εἴποις ἄν*, potential opt. See n. to l. 3.

69 *ἀλλ' ἄρα*, 'but then surely'. τὰ τοιαῦτα: generic article, 'spectacles of this kind'; G. § 141 (d), HA. § 659.

70 καὶ οἶκοι μένουσι, 'even when they stay at home'.

καὶ μὲν Δία appears to serve not so much the purpose of affirming the preceding position, as of ushering in the subsequent objection. See Shilleto *Dem. de fals. leg.* App. III.

71 *ὀλίγα γε τῶν πολλῶν* (scil. *ἔρχεται αὐτοῖς*), 'only a few out of the many that there are', partit. gen., G. § 168.

72 τοιαῦτα ὄντα, 'such as they are', scil. *ὀλίγα*.

τίμια πωλεῖται, 'are sold at a high price': on the use of predicate adjectives in apposition to the subject, where other languages use an adverb, see HA. § 619.

73 οἱ ἐπιδεικνύμενοι καὶ ὅτιοῦν, 'those who furnish any exhibition, ever so small'. ἀξιοῦσι, 'expect'.

74 λαβόντες—ἀπέναι, *secum auferre*, 'to go away with'. The participle here expresses the leading idea; cf. *Cyr.* I iv 13, 20, *Anab.* VII vii 53 ταῦτα λαβὼν ἀπιθί, G. § 279, 4, HA. § 968 b.

ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ, 'within a short time'. Cf. *Mem.* I iii 13 ἐν τοσοῦτῳ χρόνῳ, de red. IV 23 ἐν ἔτεσι πέντε ἢ ἑξ.

75 πολλαπλάσια—ἢ ὅσα κτῶνται, 'many times—as great as they get'. Cf. *Cyr.* IV ii 37 ὅπως διπλάσια σῖτα καὶ ποτὰ παρασκευασμένα ἢ ἢ τοῖς δεσπόταις ἐποιεῖτε, with my note, de red. I 5 ὀρυσσομένη δὲ (γῆ) πολλαπλάσιους τρέφει ἢ εἰ σῖτον ἔφερε. The same thought might have been expressed also by πολλαπλάσια ὧν κτῶνται, such adjectives having the construction of comparatives; see G. § 175 Note 1, HA. § 755 a, and cp. *Cyr.* V ii 30, VII iii 38.

§ 14 l. 77 ἀλλά—γέ τοι, 'well—at any rate'. 'Ἀλλά is used with an adversative force in relation to a latent feeling

in the mind of the speaker. τοῖς θεάμασι, 'in respect of sights', see above l. 106, G. § 188 Note 1, HA. § 780. 79 τοῦ ἡδίστου ἀκροάματος: cf. Cic. or. p. Arch. § 20 *Themistoclen illum dixisse aiunt, cum ex eo quaereretur, quod acroama aut cuius vocem libentissime audiret: 'eius, a quo sua virtus optime praedicaretur'*. 80 ὑμῖν may be regarded either as governed by παρόντες or as the dative belonging to the whole sentence rather than to any special word, G. § 184, 4, HA. § 771.

- 4 82 τοῦ χαλεπωτάτου ἀκροάματος: for the genitive after ἀνῆκοι, 'not hearing', see G. § 180 Note 1, HA. § 753 d. Cf. Mem. II i 31 τοῦ πάντων ἡδίστου ἀκούσματος, ἐπαίνου ἑαυτῆς, ἀνῆκοος εἰ. ἐπαίνου is in descriptive apposition with ἀκροάματος, HA. § 624 b. 83 κατ' ὀφθαλμούς, 'to his face'; cf. Arist. Ran. 626 ἵνα σοι κατ' ὀφθαλμούς λέγῃ, Soph. Antig. 760 κατ' ὀμματα, Eur. Andr. 1064 ἐλθεῖν κατ' ὀμματα.

84 κακηγορεῖν, 'to slander', 'speak evil of': see cr. n.

§ 15 l. 85 καί τί οἶα—εὐφραίνειν, 'but, pray, what pleasure do you think they give who don't speak evil of us?' On the emphatic καί before interrogative particles and pronouns see n. to l. 6, and on the use of the negative μή with the participle, G. § 283, 4, HA. § 1025 a. 87 οἱ σιωπῶντες οὗτοι, 'these your silent men'; the participle with the article used substantively instead of a relative periphrasis of a person, see G. § 276, 2. πάντες κακόννοι εἰσὶ: see cr. n. 89 ὑποπτοὶ εἰσιν—τούς ἐπαίνους ποιῆσθαι, 'are suspected of bestowing their (G. § 141 Note 2) praises for the sake of flattering'. On the personal for impersonal construction see HA. § 944 a, G. § 280 Note 1, G. MT. § 93 Note 2 (b).

§ 16 l. 94 ὁρᾷς and ὁρᾷτε at the beginning, or parenthetically in the middle of a sentence, are used, without any influence on the construction, like Latin *viden*, 'do you see? don't you see?' in explanation, where the speaker assumes that his statement must command assent; cf. Arist. Nub. 355, Thesm. 496 ταῦθ', ὁρᾷς, οὐκ ὥπου' εἶπεν, Plat. Protag. p. 336 B ἀλλ', ὁρᾷς, ἔφη, δίκαια δοκεῖ λέγειν Πρωταγόρας. ἐκείνῳ γε, *illud certe*, 'this certainly', viz. what has yet to be mentioned.

οὐκ ἔτι, *non item, non iam*, 'not as in the other case'. So in Mem. iv iv 20, after several θεῶν νόμοι have been enumerated, Socrates says, οὐκέτι μοι δοκεῖ—οὗτος θεοῦ νόμος εἶναι, Agesil. ii 26 Κόνυς ἀπηλλάγη—. Μαύσωλός γε μήν—οὐκέτι ('not like the others') δέσας ἀλλὰ πεισθεὶς ἀπέπλευσεν ἄκαδε, Oecon. xxi 11, Cyr. i v 8 l. 79 with my note. οὐκ ἂν πέσαις—οὐδένα, 'you would not get any one to believe'. The protasis implied is, 'if you were to try', see n. to l. 3. 96 ἐν αὐτοῖς εὐφραίνεσθαι, 'you enjoy yourselves in respect to them'. We should have expected a demonstrative reference (ἐν τούτοις), but cf. Cyr. viii viii 16 τὰ πετόμενα ἐπὶ τράπεζαν ὄσα τε πρόσθεν εἴρητο, οὐδὲν αὐτῶν ἀφύρηται.

§ 17 l. 97 καί—γε, 'yes (I agree with you) and what is more'. τούτῳ κρίνουσιν, 'judge by this fact' viz. δτι δοκοῦσι κτλ. Cf. iv 8 οὐ γὰρ τῷ ἀριθμῷ τὰ πολλὰ κρίνεται.

98 ἥδιον, *libentius*, 'with greater relish'; cp. iii 2, viii 5.

99 δοκοῦσι—ἑαυτοῖς, 'they have a notion that they themselves also would have more pleasure in partaking of an entertainment served to us than of one served to themselves'. Παρατιθέναι τινὶ is the technical term for 'setting a meal before a person', so οἱ παρατιθέντες are 'the serving-men', Cyr. viii viii 20, τὰ παρατιθέμενα, 'the meats served'; ii i 30, v ii 16. Cf. Arist. Ach. 85, Eq. 52 βούλει παραθῶ σοι δόρπον; 101 τοῦτο, emphatic, 'this it is which'. See G. § 152 Note 3, H.A. § 996 b and cp. §§ 21, 25, 32, de rep. Athen. i 2 οἱ κυβερνήται—καὶ οἱ ναπηγοί, οὗτοι εἰσιν οἱ τὴν δύναμιν περιτιθέντες τῇ πόλει. 102 τὰς ἡδονάς, 'their enjoyment'; cp. l. 89.

§ 18 l. 102 ἡδέως προσδέχονται, 'look forward with pleasure to', Apol. a. 33 ἡλαρῶς προσεδέχετο τὸν θάνατον.

103 πλὴν οὐχ: see crit. n. 104 ἐκπλεῖ—παρεσκευασμένα, 'since they have been always provided to the full, supplied with abundance'. For the predicate nominative see G. § 166 Note 4.

οὐδεμίαν—ἔχουσιν—ἐπίδοσιν, 'do not admit any sort of addition', cf. Oecon. xx 23 οὐδὲν ἔχει πλεονα ἐπίδοσιν ἢ ἡῶρος ἐξ ἀργού πάμφορος γιγνόμενος. 106 τῇ εὐφροσύνῃ

τῆς ἐλπίδος, 'the pleasure of (i.e. arising from) anticipation'. For εὐφροσύνη see n. on vii 4. 107 μεινεκτούσι τῶν ἰδιωτῶν: see n. on l. 57.

§ 19 l. 107 ἐκείνο, 'the following fact', l. 94. The acc. depends loosely upon ἐμπειρος εἰ (not on οἶδα): see n. to Oecon. xvi 6, and cf. Cyr. iii iii 9 ἐπιστήμονες ἦσαν τὰ προσήκοντα. See cr. n. 108 ὅσῳ, G. § 188, 2, HA. § 781. πλεῖω, predicate adjective; cf. l. 82 with note. 109 παραθήται, *sibi apponi iubeat*, 'has set before him', the middle in causative sense. Cf. Cyr. v ii 19. τὰ περιττά τῶν ἱκανῶν 'superfluities': περιττός having a latent comparative force takes the gen., as in Cyr. viii ii 21, 22 περιττά τῶν ἀρκούντων. τοσούτῳ θάπτον, *eo citius*. 110 τῷ χρόνῳ τῆς ἡδονῆς, 'in respect to the duration of the pleasure'.

- 5 § 20 l. 114 προσίεται sc. τὰ παρατιθέμενα, 'approves', 'likes' (what is served), i.e. as long as the appetite for food continues. The verb προσίεσθαι admits of a double construction: τοῦτό με προσίεται 'this likes me', and τοῦτο προσίεμαι, 'I like, affect this'. Cf. Cyr. viii vii 4 τῷ δὲ ἡ ψυχὴ σίτον οὐ προσίετο.

§ 21 l. 117 τὸν ἡδόμενον—τούτον: see n. to l. 101.
l. 118 οὐκοῦν.....ἑρωτικώτατα ἔχειν τοῦ ἔργου τούτου; 'do you imagine that the greater delight a man takes in any occupation, the more fondly he is attached to it?' The form of the sentence is like that of v 4 l. 30. Cf. Oecon. xii 15 ἐρωτικῶς ἔχουσι τοῦ κερδαίνειν, Cyr. iii iii 12 ἐρωτικῶς ἔχειν τοῦ ἡδῆ ποιεῖν τι, and for the gen. see G. § 182, 1, and HA. § 756.
120 πάνυ μὲν οὖν sc. οἶμαι, 'of course', 'unquestionably'. The most simple way of expressing an affirmative answer is by ναι; more strongly by πάνυ γε, πάνυ μὲν οὖν, πάντως δὲ, μάλιστα, καὶ μάλα, σφόδρα γε, φημί, τί γάρ; τί μὴν; πῶς γάρ οὐ; and an answer in the negative by οὐ, οὐ δῆτα, οὐδαμῶς, ἡκιστα, πῶς; πόθεν; οὐ μὲν οὖν, see below, l. 124. 121 τι—ἡδιον, 'with at all greater pleasure'. So below ii 18 οὐδέν τι 'not at all', iv 7 θάπτόν τι, Herod. iv 52 οὕτω τι, Thuc. i 107 τό τι.

124 οὐ μὰ τὸν Δί', οὐ μὲν οὖν scil. ὁρῶ. Stobaeos has οὐ μὲν δῆ. Cf. Cyr. v v 18 οὐ μὰ τὸν Δί'—οὐ μὲν δῆ, i vi 9, ii 22.

125 ἀγλευκέστερον) (ῥῆδιον, 'more sourly', 'with less pleasure'. Suidas s.v. Ἀγλευκές τὸ ἀηδὲς Ξενοφῶν ἐρρηκεν ἐν τῷ Οἰκονομικῷ (viii 4). Δοκεῖ δὲ ξενικὸν τὸ ὄνομα, Σικελικόν. πολὺ γοῦν ἐστὶ παρὰ τῷ Πίνθωνι. Καὶ ἀγλευκέστερον ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀηδέστερον Ξενοφῶν ἱέρωνι. ἀν δόξει: § 11. 3.

§ 22 l. 126 μηχανήματα, afterwards (l. 136) called σοφίσματα, 'skilful dressings of food', 'artificial stimulants to the appetite'. 128 στρυφνά, 'harsh', 'astringent'. τούτων ἀδελφά, 'akin to these', HA. § 754 d. 130 πάνυ μὲν οὖν scil. κατανερόγκα. καὶ πανύ γε, to be taken with παρὰ φύσιν, 'quite unnatural'. See n. to ii 10.

§ 23 l. 132 ἄλλο τι οὖν...ἐπιθυμήματα, 'do you then suppose that these viands are anything else but objects of craving to an appetite sickly and weakened by indulgence?'

In my former editions I followed Cobet in accepting ταῦτα ἐδέσματα, the reading of **W**, so that Hieron's meaning should be 'do you think that these are (merely) eatables or etc.'; but I now see that there are objections fatal to this interpretation. In the first place ἄλλο τι οἶε, according to Platonic usage (see Hipparch. p. 226 E ἄλλο τι οὐνοῖ γε φιλοκερδεῖς φιλοῦσι τὸ κέρδος, Euthyphr. p. 10 D ἄλλο τι φιλεῖται ὑπὸ θεῶν) can only mean *nonne putas* 'do you not think?' (G. § 282, 3, HA. § 1015 b), and in the second place we find that Xenophon does not use ἄλλο τι but ἄλλο τι—ἦ, as in Cyr. III ii 18 ἄλλο τι οὖν ἢ διὰ τὸ τῆς γῆς σπανίζειν ἀγαθῆς νῦν πένητες νομίζετ' εἶναι; Anab. II v 10 ἄλλο τι ἂν ἢ—ἀγωνισοίμεθα; IV vii 5 ἄλλο τι ἢ οὐδὲν κωλύει παρίεναι; Oecon. i 16 ἄλλο τι ἢ τούτοις οὔτε αἱ ἐπιστήμαι χρήματά εἰσιν οὔτε τὰ κτήματα; I conclude therefore that we should stand by the common reading—the absence of τὰ in **W** may easily be accounted for by lipography—taking ἐδέσματα as the subject of εἶναι, not as its predicate, and giving ἦ the meaning of *quam*, not *aut*.

134 ἐπιθυμήματα, 'objects of desire'. See iv 7, where cities, fields, harbours etc., which are coveted by kings, are opposed τοῖς ἰδιωτικοῖς ἐπιθυμήμασιν. 135 πον, 'I presume', 'surely', used where the speaker puts something in a half-questioning manner. οὐδὲν προσδεόνται, 'do not at all require in addition'. The πρὸς has here its adverbial, not a prepositional sense. Cf. iv 11.

§ 24 l. 137 ἀλλὰ μέντοι—τούτων—τούς πλησιάζοντας—ἀπολαύειν κτλ., 'well certainly in the case of those expensive unguents with which we are familiar, I really do believe that those who are near your person have more enjoyment of them than you yourselves have, just as, in respect to disagreeable odours, it is not the person himself who has eaten (anything which emits a disagreeable odour) who is sensible of them, as those who come near him'. For the construction of ἀπολαύειν cf. Cyr. vii v 81 διψήσας τῶν ἡδίστων ποτῶν ἀπολαύσεται, Amphis Leuc. (Mein. Com. Fr. iii p. 311) ἐξὸν ἀπολαύειν ἰχθύων ἀληθινῶν, Antiphanes Arch. (ib. iii p. 22) ἀπόλαυε τοῦ ζωμοῦ, ῥόφει, Didym. (ib. p. 44) ἀπέλαυσα πολλῶν καὶ καλῶν ἐδεσμάτων, Diodor. Epictet. v 19 (ib. p. 544) πάντων ἀπολαύσας τῶν παρατεθέντων.

140 ἀχαρίτων: the reading ἀχαρίστων offends against Cobet's canon who (Nov. Lect. p. 420) says, 'perpetuo Veterum usu εὐχαρις et εὐχάριστος, ἄχαρις et ἀχάριστος sic distinguuntur ut *animus gratum et ingratum habentes εὐχάριστοι et ἀχάριστοι* dicantur, sed *venustus et scitus et elegans εὐχαρις et ἐπιχαρις* nominetur, et *ἀχαρις qui venustatis et elegantiae sit expers*. Nauci non sunt formae ὁ ἡ ἀχάριτος, εὐχάριτος et ἐπιχάριτος a Graeculis imperite fictae. Probae sunt τοῦ ἀχαρίτος, οἱ εὐχάριτες, et sic τὰ ἀχαρίτα et λέγειν οὐκ ἀχαρίτα pro χαρίεντα'. 140 αὐτός, ipse. ὁ βεβρωκώς: see n. to l. 87.

- 6 § 25 l. 143 τῶν σίτων, partitive genitive dependent upon παντοδαπά. Observe that the usual plural of ὁ σίτος is not οἱ σῖτοι but τὰ σῖτα. For the sentiment cf. Mem. iv v 9. 144 μετὰ πόθου, periphrasis for adverb. 145 τινός sc. σίτου. For the emphatic οὗτος cf. above l. 101. Hiero's meaning is:— ' (You admit that the enjoyment of unguents is not after all so great). This is precisely the case with those who have constantly a variety of food set before them. They eat nothing with an appetite, whereas he who rarely meets with any delicacy, this is the man who takes his fill of it with enjoyment, whenever it comes before him'. Schenkl proposes to read τῶν τοιοούτων for τῶν σίτων.

CHAPTER II

Still, contends Simonides, there are other pleasures greater than those of sense. You despots have a considerable advantage over private men because you can conceive and readily execute great projects and can do most to benefit your friends and hurt your enemies; you have all the proud consciousness of superior might. You possess the greatest abundance and variety of possessions; you have at your command luxuries of all sorts, the finest chariots and horses, the most splendid arms, the most brilliant ornaments for your wives, the finest and most sumptuously furnished palaces and the most numerous, intelligent and valuable servants (§ 1—§ 2).

Hieron expresses his surprise that a wise man like Simonides should be misled by outward appearances and take the popular view of happiness and unhappiness. A despot's possessions and all that is reckoned of most value are displayed before the eyes of the vulgar; but they do not see the reality in the background, the evils to which he is exposed are concealed from them, lying as they do in the inmost recesses of his soul, where alone real happiness or misery resides (§ 3—§ 5). A despot has less enjoyment from the greatest blessings incident to human life, such as peace, and more vexation from the greatest curses, such as war, than a private citizen: he is a slave in many things where a private man is free; he cannot in his own country, with safety to his person, freely pass from place to place, but must go about fully armed himself and with an armed escort, as if he were in an enemy's country (§ 6—§ 8). Private persons on their return from a foreign expedition consider themselves safe at all events when they get back; not so despots, who find themselves then most surrounded by enemies. Or in case of an invasion, private men can retire within their fort for safety; but a despot does not find his home a castle, but must be on his guard there more than in any other place (§ 9—§ 10). Again private persons can obtain a respite from war by a truce and by peace, but a despot can

never be at peace or trust a truce with his subjects (§ 11). For there are two kinds of war—there is that between state and state, and there is that between a despot and his subjects. Whatever ills arise from the first must be shared by despot and citizen alike (§ 12—§ 13). But a despot by his position is debarred from a share of the pleasures of a successful war (§ 14), which are very considerable (§ 15—§ 16). In the second kind of war—while suspecting every one as an enemy, he knows nevertheless that, when he has put to death the persons suspected, he has only weakened the power of the city (§ 17), and his confidence is not restored but he becomes more suspicious than before. His house is to him like a besieged camp, perpetually on the alarm against the open assaults or secret intrigues of enemies (§ 18).

§ 1 l. 2 πάνυ—μικρά: see n. on l. 7. 3 τῶν δοκούντων ἀνδρῶν εἶναι: see n. to i 9 l. 49. For the emphatic use of ἀνὴρ cf. vii 3 ἄνδρες δὲ καὶ οὐκέτι ἄνθρωποι μόνον νομιζόμενοι, Cyr. v v 33 σὺ μὲν ἀνὴρ φαίνει, ἐγὼ δὲ οὐκ ἄξιός ἀρχῆς, Hellen. vii i 24 ὑπερεφίλουσιν τὸν Λυκομήδην καὶ μόνον ἄνδρα ἡγοῦντο, Arist. Ach. 76, Eq. 179. So in Latin *vir*: Cic. ep. ad Qu. fr. ii 11 *cum veneris, virum te putabo; si Sallustii Empedoclea legeris, hominem non putabo*. Weiske is wrong in translating τῶν δοκούντων by *illustrium, conspicuorum*. See Prof. Jebb's note on Soph. Oed. R. 1191 ed. 2. 4 ἐκόντας: G. § 138 Note 7, HA. § 619 a. μιονεκτοῦντας—σίτων: see note to i 11. For δψων Heindorf on Plato Protag. § 100 suggests δσμῶν, on the ground that the former is included in σίτων, and also in reference to i l. 22.

§ 2 l. 5 ἐν ἐκείνοις, 'in respect to what follows', cp. i l. 96.

7 ἐπινοεῖτε, in *animum inducitis*. πλεῖστα—ἔχετε, 'possess—in greatest abundance', G. § 138 Rem. 1, HA. § 618.

8 διαφέροντας ἀρετῇ 'of surpassing excellence'. Aristot. Eth. Nic. ii vi 2 ἡ τοῦ ἵππου ἀρετὴ ἵππον τε σπουδαῖον ποιεῖ καὶ ἀγαθὸν δραμεῖν καὶ ἐνεγκεῖν τὸν ἐπιβάτην καὶ μῆναι τοὺς πολέμους. The root of ἀρετῇ is ἀρ- 'to fit', from which are derived ἀραρίσκω 'I suit', ἀρθρον 'a joint', ἀρτύω 'I fit together', 'πρεφέστε',

ἀριθμός 'reckoning' i.e. fitting numbers together in a series, ἀρτιος 'even', ἀρτι 'just', 'exactly', ἀριστος, ἀρέσκω, Lat. *arma*, *armus*, *artus* 'limb', *artus* 'tight', *ars* etc. For the epanaphora διαφέροντας μὲν—διαφέροντα δέ cf. i 5, ii 15, iv 3 etc.

9 ὑπερέχοντα, *egregium*. 10 κόσμον, *mundum muliebrem*, Fr. *parure*. Cf. Oecon. ix 6 l. 36. καὶ ταύτας, *casque*, 'and those too'. We find generally καὶ ταῦτα *idque* (i 9), not so often a demonstrative agreeing with the preceding substantive; but cf. below vii 8, Anab. ii v 21 ἀπὸρων ἐστὶ καὶ ἀμηχάνων καὶ τούτων ποιηρῶν, Oecon. ii 5, Herod. iii 73, 1 ἀρχόμεθα ὑπὸ Μήδου ἀνδρὸς Μάγου καὶ τούτου ὧτα οὐκ ἔχοντος. 11 κατεσκευασμένας τοῖς πλείστον ἀξίαις, 'with the most costly furniture'.

12 ἐπιστήμαις ἀρίστοις, 'superior in accomplishments': dative of respect, HA. § 780. With πλήθει we must supply some word like διαφέροντας from ἀρίστοις. 14 ὀνήσαι, *prodesse*, G. p. 349.

§ 3 l. 17 οὐδέν τι, i 21 l. 12 note. μάλα is to be taken with δοξάζειν, and εὐδαίμονας εἶναι depends upon δοξάζειν, not upon ὁρᾶν. 18 δοξάζειν ὁρᾶν, 'to judge by appearances that etc.'

§ 4 l. 20 πολλοῦ ἄξια, l. 11. εἶναι, to be taken with δοκοῦντα. ἀνεπτυγμένα (ἀναπτύσσειν), *explicita*, 'unfolded', 'revealed', predicate participle. On the use of the infinitive (θεᾶσθαι) as a sort of accusative of specification, see G. § 261, 2, HA. § 952. φανερά looks so much like a gloss on ἀνεπτυγμένα, that I have enclosed it in brackets as at least doubtful. See cr. n. 23 ἐνθαπερ i.q. ἐν αἰσπερ. 24 ἀπόκειται, *abditur*, 'is kept out of sight'.

7 § 5 l. 25 τὸ πλήθος περὶ τούτου λεληθέναι: cp. Plato legg. p. 908 c σέ δὲ λέληθε περὶ τούτου, where also the verb is used impersonally: the usual construction would be τοῦτο λεληθέναι τὸ πλήθος, 'that this is unknown to the multitude'.

26 καὶ ὑμᾶς, 'you as well as they'. 27 δοκεῖτε, 'are considered'. 28 τοῦτο: see n. to i l. 101.

§ 6 l. 31 ὁλάχιστον scil. μέρος, see G. § 170, 2 Note, and cf. l. 35.

§ 7 l. 33 *αὐτίκα*, 'for instance'; when the first instance that presents itself is urged. Cf. *Oecon.* xix 18, *Cyr.* i vi 9.

34 *ταύτης—τοῖς τυράννοις μέτεστιν*, *G.* § 184, 2 Note 1 (*a*), *HA.* § 784. 35 *ὁ δὲ πόλεμος μέγα κακόν*, scil. *εἰ δοκεῖ εἶναι*.

§ 8 l. 36 *εὐθύς*, i.q. *αὐτίκα* l. 33, 'at the outset', 'to begin with'. It is followed by *ἔπειτα δὲ* l. 43. 37 *τοῖς ἰδιώταις ἐξεστίν—μηδὲν φοβουμένους*: On the accusative for the dative, as in agreement with the (understood) subject of the infinitive, see *G.* § 136 Note 3, and cf. *Oecon.* i 4, *Hell.* iv i 35 *ἐξεστὶ σοι μηδὲνα προσκυνοῦντα—ζῆν*, *Mem.* ii vi 26 *εἰ ἐξῆν τοῖς κρατιστοῖς συνθεμένους ἐπὶ τοὺς χεῖρους ἵναι*, *Eur.* *Heracl.* 693 *ὥς μὴ μενοῦντα τᾶλλα σοι λέγειν πάρα*, *Plutarch Agis* vi 2 *συνέβαινε τοῖς πολλοῖς, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ δεσπότῃν ἀγομένοους ἐκ δρασμοῦ, δεδιέναι τὸν Λυκοῦργον*. 38 *πόλεμον πολεμῇ*: *G.* § 159, *HA.* § 715. 39 *ἅποι ἐν βούλωνται*, 'whithersoever they please', *G.* § 207, 2, *HA.* § 860. 40 *μή τις—ἀποκτείνῃ*: *G.* § 218, *HA.* § 887. 41 *πολεμίας*, scil. *γῆς*. *γούν*, 'at all events', serves to confirm an assertion by giving the grounds for it. 42 *ὥπλισμένοι οἴονται ἀνάγκην εἶναι δίδαιν*: *ἀνάγκην εἶναι*, as is sometimes the case with *δεῖν*, *χρῆναι* etc. after *οἶμαι* etc., does not affect the construction of the clause; otherwise we must have had *ὥπλισμένους*. Cf. *Dem. de fals. leg.* § 260 *ἡγούμην—αὐτὸς περιεῖναι δεῖν αὐτῶν*, *ib.* § 337, *Plat. Protag.* p. 316 c *πότερον μόνος οἶει δεῖν διαλέγεσθαι*; 43 *δίδαιν* sc. *τὸν βίον*, *vivere*, *aevum transigere*, as in i 8, iv 2, vii 10. 44 *συμπεριάγεσθαι*, *secum una circumducere*.

§ 9 l. 45 *ἀλλ' οὖν*: 'the clause to which *ἀλλά* is opposed is sometimes in the form of an hypothetical protasis; so *ἀλλ' οὖν*, when the consequences of the former clause are to be signified. *Plat. Phaed.* p. 91 b *εἰ δὲ μηδὲν ἐστὶ τελευτήσαντι, ἀλλ' οὖν τοῦτόν γε τὸν χρόνον ἦττον ἀπῆδ' ἔσομαι*'. Jelf *Gr.* § 774 obs. 1. 45 *ἐπαδὲν ἔλθωσιν*, 'after they have returned'. See *G. MT.* § 20 Note 1 p. 26. 46 *ἴσασιν ὄντες*: *G.* § 280, § 136 Note 4, *HA.* § 980, § 982.

§ 10 l. 48 *ἐάν δὲ—στρατεύωσιν*,—*ἐάν—δοκῶσιν*: an example of a conditional clause subordinate to a primary conditional

clause, where in some cases we should insert a copulative particle so as to make it a co-ordinate clause. Cf. Anab. III ii 31 ἦν δέ τις ἀπειθῆ, ἦν ψηφίσσῃθε—κολάζειν, οὕτως οἱ πολέμοι πλείστον ἐψευσμένοι ἔσονται. Such instances of a conditional clause within a conditional clause are found also in Latin, see my n. on Cic. or. p. Sestio § 45 l. 31 ed. 2. 49 εἰς τὴν πόλιν: Cobet would read ἐπὶ, which of course would be the correct classical combination, but, as Sauppe remarks, 'positi εἰς significatione contra exempla non pauca, maxime sequente hostium nomine, veluti Anab. I i 11, III 5, III ii 16, IV ii 7', to which may be added Cyr. I v 14, III ii 9 ἀλαλάξαντες ἔθεον εἰς αὐτοὺς, Anab. III ii 16 ἐτολμήσατε σὺν τῷ πατρώῳ φρονήματι λέναι εἰς τοὺς πολέμους. 51 ἀλλὰ is opposed to the second hypothetical protasis: see n. on l. 45. 52 νομίζουσι καθιστάναι: G. § 134, 3, HA. § 940. 53 οὐδέ, *ne—quidem*. 54 ἐνταῦθα δὴ καὶ μάλιστα, *ibi demum vel maxime*, 'there of all places most'. On the intensive καί=German *gar*, see my n. on 8 Oecon. i 19 and op. below viii 7. 55 φυλακτέον: G. § 281, 2, HA. § 990.

§ 11 l. 56 διὰ σπονδῶν—γίγνεται πόλεμον ἀνάπαυσις, 'a cessation of hostilities is brought about by means of a truce'.

58 τοὺς τυραννεομένους, 'the subjects of a despotic sovereign'. 59 εἰ—θαρρήσεις, 'would confidently rely on treaties', potential optative, i l. 3, HA. § 872. Observe that the participle πιστεύσας is the virtual primary predicate, HA. § 984.

§ 12 l. 59 καὶ—μὲν δὴ, *et profecto iam*, 'and further'. The μὲν (= μήν) serves to strengthen the affirmation. See on vii 11.

60 οὓς πολέμοις: l. 38. 62 τούτων τῶν πολέμων: i.e. the wars between contending free states, and those between a despotic king and the people who have been forced by him into subjection, respectively. The gen. is partitive, depending upon δσα. But some with good reason understand ὁ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι to refer to πόλεμος: in that case the genitive must be referred to it. The vulgate ὁ σὺν ταῖς πόλεσι could not possibly mean 'war between states'. I should prefer to read ὁ ὦν ταῖς πόλεσι,

and in l. 68 οἱ ὄντες ταῖς πόλεσι. δὲ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι may = *civis*, as also in l. 68, the singular being used as opposed to δ τύραννος. The μέν in ὅσα μέν ἔχει χαλεπά is answered by the δέ in δ δὲ ἐχουσιν ἡδέα l. 67.

§ 13 l. 64 ἐν ὅπλοις: For ἐν in the sense of 'wearing', 'equipped with', see my n. to Cyr. II i 16. 65 ἀν τι πᾶθωσι—ἐπὶ τούτοις: Such transitions from a singular collective noun to a plural are not uncommon: cf. below iii 4, v 4, vi 14, Cyr. I ii 2 ἦν δέ τις τούτων τι παραβαίνειν, ζήμιαν αὐτοῖς ἐπανάθεσαν, Oecon. xxi 9 ὅς ἀν—οὔτοι, and see HA. § 632.

§ 14 l. 66 μέχρι τούτου, 'thus far', cf. I l. 38. μὲν δὴ is ordinarily used in dismissing one consideration and passing to another, cf. l. 92. ἴσοι sc. εἰσίν. οἱ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι may be for *cives*: cf. l. 62, but as there, so here, it might refer to πόλεμοι, i.e. 'wars between different states'. Weiske, Add. p. 454, proposed οἱ ὄντες πόλεσι (sc. πόλεμοι). οὐκέτι, *non item*. See n. on I l. 94 p. 38.

§ 15 l. 70 οὐ ῥάδιον sc. ἐστὶ. 71 ὅσῃν μὲν—ὅσῃν δέ: see n. to l. 8. τρέψασθαι, *fugare*, 'to put to flight'. Observe that the strong aor. τραπέσθαι is never used in this sense but always in that of 'to turn and flee'. 73 γαυροῦνται, 'pride themselves, exult', a poetical word, not found elsewhere in Xen.

74 ἀναλαμβάνουσιν, which Sturz renders *sibi vindicant*, can only signify, as Cobet points out, *amissam (gloriam) recuperant*, 'they recover lost credit'—a meaning which does not very well suit the context. The ἀνά may be easily ascribed to dittography, a frequent source of error. Cf. Plat. Phaed. p. 75 ε. 75 τὴν πόλιν νομίζοντες ἡύξηκέναι 'because they consider that they have enhanced (the power and glory of) their city'. The participle agrees with οἱ πολῖται implied in αἱ πόλεις l. 69.

§ 16 l. 76 προσποιεῖται τῆς βουλῆς μετοχῇ κέναι, 'professes that he has had some share in the plan', G. § 170, 2.

78 χαλεπὸν scil. ἐστὶ. εὑρεῖν ὅπου οὐχὶ καὶ ἐπιψεύδονται τι, 'to find an occasion on which they do not add words

falsehood': observe that οὐ, not μή, is used because the relative is not conditional, as in i 12 l. 64.

79 πλέοντας φάσκοντες ἀπεκτονέσθαι ἢ—ἀποθάνωσιν, 'pretending that they have put to death more than have really been killed'.

ἀποθανεῖν does duty as the passive of ἀποκτείνω.

80 οὕτω, *usque adeo*. καλόν τι, *pulcrum quiddam*, 'a really fine thing', i.e. something certain in that way, though perhaps indescribable. See my n. on *quidam*, Cic. de off. i § 95 l. 29.

81 τὸ πολὺ νικᾶν (G. § 258) i.q. πολλὴν or μεγάλην νίκην νικᾶν, 'to win a great and decided victory'. Cf. Hipparch. viii 11 τὸ γὰρ πολὺ νικᾶν οὐδενὶ πώποτε μεταμέλειαν παρέσχευ, Cyr. viii iii 25 σὺν μὲν οὖν τοῖς Πέρσαις αὐτὸς ἤλασε καὶ ἐνίκη πολλοί, Thucyd. i 49, 5 ἣ δὲ αὐτοὶ ἦσαν οἱ Κορίνθιοι, —πολλοὶ ἐνίκηων.

§ 17 l. 81 ὑποπτεύσῃ sc. ἀντιπράττοντάς τινας.

82 ἀντιπράττοντας, see crit. app. 83 οὐκ αὔξει τὴν πόλιν, in reference to l. 75 τὴν πόλιν νομίζοντες ἡύξηκέναι, cp. xi 13.

84 μειόνων, *pauciorum*. φαιδρός, 'cheerful', a favourite word of Xenophon's.

85 μεγαλύνεται, *effertur, gloriatur*.

86 μαιοί, *verbis elevat*, 'extenuates', Cyr. vi iii 17 μηδὲ μείου τὰ τῶν πολεμίων.

87 ἅμα πράττων, *inter agendum*, 'while acting'. 'The adverbs ἅμα and μεταξύ, in point of signification, belong in the first instance to the leading verb, but in the Greek idiom they usually attach themselves more closely to the participle', G. § 277 Note 1 (a), HA. § 976.

88 οὕτως, *usque adeo*, as in l. 80.

§ 18 l. 90 οὐδὲν τι μᾶλλον, 'not a whit the more': cf. iii 4 οὐδὲν ἦτρον.

92 μὲν δὲ, 'thus then', to terminate the subject; the new subject being introduced by δέ, iii l. 1, see n. to l. 66.

ἔχων διατελεῖ: G. § 279, 1, 4 Note, HA. § 981.

93 οἶον: see crit. n.

CHAPTER III

Again, friendship may be considered as one of the greatest blessings of life. But of this blessing no one has a less share than a despot, and whereas private men enjoy the pure delights of family affection, a despot's bitterest foes are often those of his own household, and, in proof of the fatal influence of despotical power on the tenderest ties of natural affection, you have only to look at the number of cases in which despots have slain their own sons or have themselves been slain by their own nearest relatives or the friends in whom they chiefly trusted.

§ 1 1. 1 **φίλας**: The order is *καταθέσθαι δ' αὐτὸς κοινωνοῦσιν* αἱ τ. φίλας. Observe that the emphatic word is placed first. **καταθέσθαι**, *considera*, 'contemplate'. So Cyr. viii ii 18 τοὺς ἄλλους θησαυροὺς καταθεῖω καὶ λογίσαι πόσα ἐστὶ χρήματα. **ὥς**, *quo modo*. See cr. n. 2 **εἰ**, 'whether', G. § 282, 4. HA. § 1016. **μέγα ἀγαθόν** sc. *ἐστὶ*. 3 **ἡ φίλας**: G. § 141 Note 1 (b), HA. § 659.

§ 2 1. 3 **γάρ** merely serves to introduce the promised subject and is not to be translated in English. 4 **ἡδέως μὲν** — **ἡδέως δέ**: cf. i 5, ii 2, 15. 5 **παρόντα ὀρώσιν**: G. § 279, 2. 6 **ἄν που ἀπῆ**: G. § 219, 2, HA. § 1052. 7 **συνεπικουροῦσι**, 'help to relieve him'. 8 **τι σφαλλόμενον** scil. αὐτόν. See note to i 8.

§ 3 1. 8 **οὐ μὲν δὴ**, *minime vero*; cf. Cyr. i vi 9, ii ii 22, Soph. El. 103 **ἀλλ' οὐ μὲν δὴ** λήξω, Plat. Phaed. 266 βασιλικοὶ μὲν ἄνδρες, οὐ μὲν δὴ ἐπιστήμονές γε. 9 **λέληθεν οὐδὲ τὰς πόλεις, ὅτι**, 'the fact has not escaped the notice of cities either, that', cf. Mem. iii v 24. 10 **γοῦν**, 'at all events', in quoting an illustration, cf. ii 8 l. 41. 11 **νομίζουσι—νηπουεῖ ἀποκτείναν**, 'have an established custom to put to death ('have a law that adulterers only may be slain') with impunity'. The second **νομίζουσι** means simply 'they think'. Cf. de rep. Lac. ii 4 καὶ ἀντὶ γε τοῦ ἱματίου διαθρύπτεσθαι ὁ Λυκούργος ἐνόμισεν ἐνὶ ἱματίῳ δι' ἔτους προσεθίσσεται, νομίζων οὕτως καὶ πρὸς ψύχῃ καὶ

πρὸς θάλλη ἀμεινον ἂν παρασκευάσασθαι, where in like manner νομίζων has a double import. 12 δῆλον ὅτι, also written

δηλονότι, 'it is clear that', 'evidently'. HA. § 1049, 1 a.

Διὰ ταῦτα ὅτι, *propterea quod*. 13 λυμαντήρας: see note to vi

6. Cf. for the sentiment Lys. de caede Eratosth. § 32 f. τῶν μὲν γὰρ (μοιχῶν) ὁ νομοθέτης θάνατον κατέγνω, ἡγοούμενος αὐτοὺς οὕτω τῶν ἀλλοτρίων γυναικῶν τὰς ψυχὰς διαφθείρειν, ὥστ' οἰκειοτέρας αὐτοῖς ποιεῖν ἢ τοῖς ἀνδράσιν.

§ 4 l. 15 ὅταν ἀφροδισιασθῇ—γυνή, 'whenever a wife is guilty of an act of infidelity'. κατὰ συμφορὰν τινα, 'by some

(unfortunate) concurrence of circumstances'. Cp. Arist. Eq. 130 ὅδ' προσέρχεται ὥσπερ κατὰ θεὸν εἰς ἀγοράν, Av. 544 κατὰ δαίμονα καὶ τινα ξυντυχίαν ἀγαθὴν, Eccl. 114 κατὰ τύχην τινά, in all which quotations κατὰ with the acc. denotes the manner, and forms a periphrasis for an adverb. οὐδὲν ἥττον, 'not a whit the less'. The datives τινί, οὐδενί are never used with comparatives, whereas we have ὀλίγω, πολλῷ by the side of ὀλίγος and πολύ, HA. § 719, § 781 a. 16 αὐτὰς sc. τὰς γυναῖκας,

to be understood from preceding γυνή: see n. on ii 13.

17 ἀκήρατος (ἀ, κεράννυμι) *integra*, 'inviolate': this may be added to the list of poetical words employed by Xen.

§ 5 l. 18 τοσοῦτόν τι: see n. to ii 16. 19 αὐτόματα

'spontaneously', 'without being sought', predicate adjective =adverb. Cf. Ar. Ach. 976 αὐτόματα πάντ' ἀγαθὰ τῷδέ γε πορίζεται, Crat. Πλουτ. 6 αὐτόματα τοῖσι θεοῖς ἀνλεῖ τὰ γαθὰ.

§ 6 l. 21 καὶ τοῦτου τοίνυν τοῦ κτήματος: καὶ is not to be taken with τοίνυν but with τοῦτου, 'this possession also'.

10 22 πάντων μάλιστα, 'more than all'; it is better to take πάντων as masculine and not as neuter. See my n. on Cyr. i iv 2.

§ 7 l. 25 γονεῦσι πρὸς παῖδας, 'between parents and children'. The γάρ refers to the preceding ὥδε (cf. l. 3), the μὲν to a suppressed clause. See on viii. 9.

§ 8 l. 28 εὐρήσεις μὲν τοὺς ἰδιώτας, for εὐρήσεις τοὺς μὲν ἰδ., which is the reading of Stobaeus. 29 ὑπὸ τούτων, 'by

these relations', i.e. parents by children, and children by parents, etc. πάντων belongs to μάλιστα as in 1. 22.

30 πολλούς in partitive apposition to τυράννους: G. § 137 Note 2, H.A. § 624 d.

31 ἀπεκτονότας: the form ἀπεκτονηκός, (from ἀποκτονεῖν), retained by Breitenbach, is justly condemned by Cobet and Veitch as unclassical.

32 αὐτούς, intensive, ἴσως.

ἐν τυραννίσιν, 'in despotic governments'. ἄλλη-
λοφόνους: he is probably referring to the myth of Eteoklés and Polyneikés.

34 ὑπὸ γυναικῶν τῶν ἐαυτῶν: The murder of Alexander of Pherae by his wife Thébè, daughter of Jason, took place in B.C. 357, Hell. vi iv 35: the *Hieron* was probably composed about B.C. 394.

35 καί—γε, 'aye and', i 17.

τῶν μάλιστα δοκούντων φίλων εἶναι, 'who were reckoned especial friends'. See n. to i 1. 49.

'The third chapter of Plutarch's life of Demetrius Poliorketés presents a vivid description of the feelings prevalent between members of regal families in those ages. Demetrius, coming home from the chase with his hunting javelins in his hand, goes up to his father Antigonus, salutes him and sits down by his side without disarming. This is extolled as an unparalleled proof of the confidence and affection subsisting between the father and the son. In the families of all the other Diadochi (says Plutarch) murders of sons, mothers and wives were frequent—murders of brothers were even common, assumed to be precautions necessary for security. Οὕτως ἄρα πάντῃ δυσκοινώνητον ἡ ἀρχὴ καὶ μεστὸν ἀπιστίας καὶ δυσνοίας, ὥστε ἀγάλλεσθαι τὸν μέγιστον τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου διαδόχων καὶ πρεσβύτατον, ὅτι μὴ φοβεῖται τὸν υἱὸν ἀλλὰ προσίεται τὴν λόγχην ἔχοντα τοῦ σώματος πλησίον. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ μόνος, ὡς εἰπεῖν, ὁ οἶκος οὗτος ἐπὶ πλείστας διαδοχὰς τῶν τοιούτων κακῶν ἐκαθάρυσσε, μᾶλλον δὲ εἰς μόνος τῶν ἀπ' Ἀντιγόνου Φίλιππος ἀνείλεν υἱόν. Αἱ δὲ ἄλλαι σχεδὸν ἀπασαί διαδοχαὶ πολλῶν μὲν ἔχουσι παίδων, πολλῶν δὲ μητέρων φόνους καὶ γυναικῶν τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀδελφοὺς ἀναρεῖν, ὥσπερ οἱ γεωμέτραι τὰ αἰτήματα λαμβάνουσιν, οὕτω συνεχωρεῖτο κοινόν τι νομιζόμενον αἴτημα καὶ βασιλικὸν ὑπὲρ ἀσφαλείας. Compare Tacitus Hist. v 8 about the family feuds of the kings of Judaea'.—GROTE *Hist. of Greece* Vol. XII p. 6 note 3, ed. 1.

§ 9 l. 36 τῶν φύσει πεφυκότων φιλεῖν κτλ. *quos ipsa natura ad amandum compellit et lex cogit*, 'those who are naturally born to love and who have been constrained withal by usage'. Cf. Cyr. v i 24 βασιλεὺς ἐμοὶ γε δοκεῖς σὺ φύσει πεφυκέναι.

38 πῶς ὑπ' ἄλλου γέ τινας κτλ. 'how are we to suppose that they are loved by any one else?' The γε emphasizes ἄλλου. For οἷεσθαι χρῆ cp. Cyr. iv ii 28.

CHAPTER IV

Again, mutual confidence is another great blessing, necessary to social life and happiness, but no one partakes less of this than a despot, who can so little count upon good faith, that he must cause all his food to be tasted by others before he can eat it himself (§ 1—§ 2).

Moreover private persons are greatly indebted to their native cities for the protection of life and property afforded by them; but it is not so with despots; there is no such immunity from danger for them, since tyrannicides are everywhere honoured and recompensed (§ 3—§ 5).

A despot does not derive more enjoyment from his possessions, because they are greater than those of private men; for he measures himself by the standard of other despots whom he cannot bear to see wealthier than himself (§ 6).

Nor are the wishes of a despot more readily satisfied than those of a private man; the objects of his ambition being altogether of a higher kind are more difficult of attainment (§ 7).

There are, in fact, more really poor kings in proportion than there are poor private persons, for an abundance or sufficiency is not to be estimated by the actual amount of our possessions but by the exigencies of our station; and despots are not at liberty to retrench their expenses, as private men are. The men who are to be pitied as poor, are not those who have all their wants supplied by fair and honest means, but those who are forced to supply their necessary wants by degrading acts and acts of injustice; and such are despots, who must have recourse to robbery and extortion, oppression and sacrilege, that they may be enabled to maintain an army for the protection of their lives (§ 8—§ 11).

§ 1 l. 1 ἀλλὰ μὲν, 'then, again'. 2 ἐλάχιστον
μετέχει: see note to ii 6. 4 ἡδεῖα sc. ἐστὶ. 6 ἀνεπίστως
τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους, 'without mutual trust'. 7 ἀπιστοσύ-
μνος = ἐλ' ἀπιστεῖται G. § 226, 1, HA. § 902.

§ 2 l. 7 *τούτου—τοῦ πιστῶς—ἔχειν* 'of this attitude of a trustful disposition towards others'. *καὶ τούτου* sc. *τῆς πίστεως* would have been sufficient without any epexegetic clause and *τοῦ πιστῶς ἔχειν πρὸς τινὰς* does not satisfy the sense, which requires rather *τοῦ πιστοῦς πρὸς <αὐτόν> τινὰς ἔχειν* or *τοῦ πιστοῦς τινὰς εἶναι*. Hence Cobet considers the clause to have been originally a gloss; see crit. n.

9 *ὁπότε γε, quandoquidem*, 'inasmuch as'. Cf. below viii 7, Cyr. ii ii 13, viii iii 7 *μέγας σύ γε, ὁπότε γε καὶ ἡμῖν τάξεις ἃ ἂν δέη ποιεῖν*, Anab. vii vi 11 *πάντα μὲν ἄρα ἀνθρώπων ὄντα προσδοκᾶν δεῖ, ὁπότε γε καὶ ἐγὼ νῦν ὑφ' ὑμῶν αἰτίας ἔχω*. οὐδέ, *ne—quidem*. διδάγει: cf. i 8.

10 *πρὶν ἀπάρχεσθαι τοῖς θεοῖς*, i.e. before the commencement of a feast, which began with libations to the gods. *τούτων—ἀπογεύσασθαι*, 'to take a taste of these', G. 171, 2.

11 *κελεύουσιν*, sc. *οἱ τύραννοι*, to be understood from *τυράννῳ* l. 8. See n. to ii 13.

12 *μή—φάγωσιν*: On *μή* 'lest' in sentences denoting 'precaution', 'suspicion', see G. § 218, H.A. § 887. For the sentiment cp. Aesch. c. Timarch. § 5 *τὰ μὲν τῶν δημοκρατουμένων σώματα καὶ τὴν πολιτείαν οἱ νόμοι σώζουσι, τὰ δὲ τῶν τυράννων καὶ τῶν ὀλιγαρχικῶν ἀπιστία καὶ ἡ μετὰ τῶν πλεον φρουρά*.

§ 3 l. 13 *αἱ πατρίδες* 'their native states'. *τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις*, answered by *τοῖς δὲ τυράννοις* l. 22. For the dative cp.

11 Aristoph. Ach. 8 *ἄξιον γὰρ Ἑλλάδι*. 14 *ἄξια*, sc. *εἰσί*.

15 *δορυφοροῦσιν ἀλλήλους—ἐπὶ τοὺς δούλους*, 'act as a bodyguard to each other against their slaves'. Cf. Thuc.

i 130, Herod. ii 168, vii 127: the verb is used with the dative in Cyr. vii v 84, Polyb. xxxii xxiii.

17 *ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδένα—ἀποθνήσκειν*, 'in order that none of their fellow-citizens may perish by a violent death'. For this sense of *ὑπὲρ* 'with a view to' cp. Isocr. Areopag. § 64 *ὁτιοῦν πάσχειν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ ποιεῖν τὸ προσταττόμενον*, Panath. § 80 *πολεμεῖν—ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ τὴν Ἑλλάδα πάσχειν ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων*.

§ 4 l. 18 *οὕτω πόρρω προεληλύθασι φυλακῆς*, *eo providentiae progressi sunt*, 'they have gone so far in precaution'. This is a partitive genitive with an adverb of place, denoting a point in and of the whole, cp. Plat. Gorg. p. 484 c.

πόρρω τῆς ἡλικίας, 'far advanced in years', ib. 486 Α τοὺς πόρρω σοφίας ἐλαύνοντας. It is to be distinguished from πόρρω 'far from', G. § 182, 2, HA. § 757. 19 τῷ μαιφόνῳ—τὸν συνόντα, G. § 187. By transposition of τῷ μαιφόνῳ from its proper place between τὸν and συνόντα additional emphasis is thrown upon the word. 20 διὰ τὰς πατρίδας, 'by means of their (respective) native states'.

§ 5 l. 22 καὶ τοῦτο ἔμπαλιν ἀνέστραπται, 'this again has been reversed', 'in this case also it is quite the reverse'. Cf. Cyr. viii 13 καὶ ὅτι γε οἱ παῖδες...ἐδόκουν μανθάνειν δικαιοσύνην, καὶ τοῦτο παντάπασιν ἀνέστραπται h.e. *contrarium accidit*. 23 ἀντὶ τοῦ τιμωρεῖν αὐτοῖς, sc. τοῖς τυράννοις, 'instead of avenging them'; see n. to i 12 l. 68. 24 τὸν ἀποκτείναντα τὸν τύραννον 'the tyrannicide', G. § 276, 2, HA. § 966. 25 καί—γε, 'aye and', cf. iii l. 35. εἰργεῖν ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν: cf. Soph. Oed. T. 236 ff. 26 ἀντὶ τούτου, see n. to i 17 l. 101. 27 εἰκόνας: Xen. is doubtless thinking of Harmodios and Aristogeiton, the murderers of Hipparchos. 28 τῶν τοιοῦτό τι ποιησάντων sc. τῶν ἀποκτείναντων τὸν τύραννον: ποιεῖν with τοῦτο or ταῦτα is often used vicariously for other verbs to spare the repetition of them, like Latin *id facere*; see my n. on Cic. de off. i 4.

§ 6 l. 28 ὁ δὲ σὺ οἶαι] see crit. not. 29 ἔχων, 'because he possesses', G. § 277, 2. The addition of διὰ τοῦτο more exactly denotes the relation of the participle to the principal action. Cf. Anab. i vii 3 νομίζων κρείττους πολλῶν βαρβάρων ἡμᾶς εἶναι διὰ τοῦτο προσέλαβον, where διὰ τοῦτο similarly takes up νομίζων, vii i 9 ἐπισιτισμοῦ δεόμενοι καὶ οὐκ ἔχοντες διὰ τοῦτο ἀθυμοῦσι πρὸς τὴν ἐξοδόν. 30 πλείω ἀπ' αὐτῶν (soil. τῶν κτημάτων) εὐφραίνεται, 'receives more enjoyment from them'. οὐδὲ τοῦτο οὕτως ἔχει, 'this is not so either', i.e. this is not true any more than the other supposition. 31 ὥσπερ οἱ ἀθλῆται—τούτ' αὐτοὺς εὐφραίνει: an irregular sentence which should have run thus: οἱ ἀθλῆται, οὐχ ὅταν—κρείττους, τούτῳ εὐφραίνονται. For this not uncommon anakoluthon of a period beginning with the nominative and passing afterwards

over to another case comp. Oecon. i 14 οἱ δὲ φίλοι, ἢν τις ἐπίστανται αὐτοῖς χρῆσθαι, ... τί φήσομεν αὐτοὺς εἶναι;
 32 ἰδιωτῶν, 'those who are not athletes'. 'Ἰδιώτης is a negative term, the exact import of which depends upon the context. Like the English word 'layman', it means 'an unprofessional man', 'amateur'. Here it is opposed to an 'athlete', as in Mem. iii vii 7 τῶν ἀσκητῶν ('trained athletes') ὅντα κρείσσω τοὺς ἰδιώτας φοβεῖσθαι, Hipp. viii 1 ὥστε αὐτοὺς μὲν ἀσκητὰς φαίνεσθαι τῶν πολεμικῶν ἐν ἱππικῇ ἔργων, τοὺς δὲ πολεμίους ἰδιώτας; elsewhere to a physician as in Thuc. ii 48, 2 καὶ ἱατρὸς καὶ ἰδιώτης; to a seer as in Anab. vi i 81 οἱ θεοὶ οὕτως ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἐσήμηναν, ὥστε καὶ ἰδιώτην ἂν γινῶναι: to a poet, Plat. Symp. p. 178 ὅπ' οὐδενὸς οὐτε ἰδιώτου οὐτε ποιητοῦ; to a musician, Plat. Protag. p. 327 c ὡς πρὸς τοὺς ἰδιώτας καὶ μηδὲν ἀλλήσεως ἐπαύοντας; to a craftsman, Plat. Theag. p. 124 c τῶν τε δημιουργῶν καὶ ἰδιωτῶν; to a rhetor, Aesch. c. Timarch. § 2 οὐ μόνον περὶ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τῶν ῥητόρων. Cf. Oecon. iii 9 ἰδιώτης τούτου τοῦ ἔργου (rei equestris), Cic. or. p. Sest. 51, 110. 32 κρείττονες—ἥττους; note the occurrence of the two different forms in close proximity.

35 ὅταν—φαίνεται ἔχων, 'whenever he is seen to possess' i.e. 'manifestly possesses'; ὅταν φαίνεται ἔχειν would mean 'whenever he seems to possess' ('though he may not really possess'). 37 τούτῳ scil. τῷ ἔχειν ἐλάττω. 38 ἀνταγωνιστάς, predicate accusative, G. § 166, HA. § 674.

- § 7 l. 39 οὐδέ γε, 'no, nor yet'. Cf. above l. 25. τι—ὧν ἐπιθυμεῖ, i.e. τι—τούτων ὧν ἐπιθυμεῖ according to Breitenbach, but I prefer taking τι with θάπτον (cf. i 2), and understanding ταῦτα as the subject of γίγνεται. 41 οἰκίας ἢ ἀγροῦ ἐπιθυμεῖ, 'covets (no more than) a house or a field'.
 12 44 χαλεπώτερα—κατεργάσασθαι, 'more difficult and hazardous of accomplishment', G. § 261, 2, HA. § 952 a. 45 ἐπιθυμημάτων, 'objects of desire', i 23.

§ 8 l. 45 ἀλλὰ μέντοι καί: ἀλλὰ μέντοι generally signifies that, although from what has gone before, it might not be expected, yet such or such a thing is so; but it is also used where there is no such contradiction between the

sentences. 46 πένητας, 'poor')(πλουσίους. Cf. Mem. iv ii 37 τοὺς μὲν, οἶμαι, μὴ ἱκανὰ ἔχοντας εἰς δὲ δεῖ τελεῖν πένητας, τοὺς δὲ πλείω τῶν ἱκανῶν πλουσίους. The meaning is 'you will see not so much a few private persons poor, as many despots so', you will find but few that are really poor amongst private persons, in comparison with those (who may be called so) amongst despots; but it is, at best, an awkwardly constructed sentence. See crit. n. Weiske (Add. p. 454) takes the meaning to be: *Non tanta paucitas est pauperum inter privatos, quanta multitudo inter tyrannos*, h. l. illorum paucitas minus mirabilis est quam horum multitudo. 47 τῷ ἀριθμῷ: the dative of the standard according to which anything is measured, judged of, or done. Cf. Herod. vii 237 τοῖσι λεγομένοισι σταθμώμενος, Dem. p. 113, 10 ἔπερ οἷς πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους πεποίηκε δεῖ τεκμαίρεσθαι. For the sentiment and line of argument, cf. Anab. vii vii 36 οὐ γὰρ ἀριθμὸς ἐστὶν ὁ ὀρίζων τὸ πολὺ καὶ τὸ ὀλίγον, Oec. ii 2 ff. 48 τὰ πολλὰ—τὰ ἱκανὰ, 'an abundance'—'a sufficiency', i.e. what comes up to the right quantity, from the root *fik* whence come *vicus* 'the place where people come and go', *oikos* 'house', *villa*=*vicula*, 'country-house', *vicinus*, English 'wick' etc. πρὸς τὰς χρήσεις, 'according to the exigencies' of our station, 'in reference to the uses made of them'. 49 ὥστε τὰ μὲν ὑπερβάλλοντα κτλ., 'consequently (i 7) whatever exceeds a sufficiency is much, while that which falls short of a sufficiency is little'. Cp. The Spectator No. 574.

§ 9 l. 51 τῷ οὖν τυράννῳ τὰ πολλαπλάσια—οὐκ ἐνδέχεται, 'much more ample revenues are not as sufficient to the despot for his necessary disbursements as to a private person; for private persons may curtail their daily expenses in what way they please, but for despots it is not possible to do so'.

53 τὰς δαπάνας—εἰς τὰ καθ' ἡμέραν] cf. note on x 8. 56 τῆς ψυχῆς, 'their life': cf. vii 12. 58 δαίμων δοκεῖ εἶναι, *mortis instar videtur*. Cf. Cic. de off. ii § 69 *clientes appellari mortis instar putant*, or. p. C. Sest. 54, 115 *ei plausum immortalitatem, sibi sibi mortem videri necesse est*, or. p. L. Flacco 8, 19 *quibus odio sunt nostrae securae, portorium morti*.

§ 10 l. 59 ἀπὸ τοῦ δίκαιου, 'by just means'. So ἐκ

τοῦ δικαίου Arist. Av. 1435, Thuc. II 89, Xen. Hell. VI v 16.

τὶ ἂν οἰκτείροι τις; potential optative, G. § 226, 2 (b), HA. § 872. ἔχειν ὅσων δέονται i.e. τοσαῦτα ὅσων δέονται.

61 μηχανώμενοι ζῆν, 'to live by contriving', 'to plot in order to live'; the participle contains the leading idea of the expression, as in I 74 λαβόντες ἀπιέναι, II 11 πιστεύσας θαρσέσειε. For the allusion see Introduction p. xxxix.

§ 11 l. 64 πλείστα, *plerumque* 'very often'. 65 διὰ τὸ —προσδεῖσθαι χρημάτων, 'because they require additional supplies'. 67 ἢ ἀπολωλέναι, 'or else to forfeit their lives': ἢ = εἰ δὲ μή i.e. 'if they do not keep an army': cp. Oecon. II 5 (προσθήκει σοι) πολίτας δειπνίζειν καὶ εὖ ποιεῖν ἢ ἔρημον συμμάχων εἶναι, Thuc. II 63, 1, Eur. Electr. 307 f. αὐτὴ μὲν ἐκμοχθοῦσα κερκίσιν πέπλους | ἢ γυμνὸν ἔξω σῶμα καὶ στερήσομαι, Jebb *Selections from Attic Orators* p. 216 § 27 with note ed. 1.

CHAPTER V

Another hardship for despotic sovereigns is that, their power being founded on injustice, the destruction of the best and most estimable citizens must be their ruling policy and none but the worst are left to serve them (§ 1—§ 2).

Again even a despot must be patriotic, as he cannot be safe or happy independently of the state, and yet he is compelled to cast a slur upon it by discouraging warlike habits and tastes in his countrymen, and employing mercenary foreign soldiers for the protection of his person (§ 3).

Moreover he does not rejoice with his people when there is a full harvest and abundance of provisions, because it is his interest rather to keep his people in indigence, that they may be more submissive; for he is most afraid of a rebellion among them when they are most prosperous (§ 4).

§ 1 l. 2 μὲν—δέ, 'although—yet'. γάρ: see n. to III 2. 3 κοσμῶν, *modestos*, 'law-abiding'. Cf. Arist. Pl. 89 τοῦς δικαίους καὶ σοφοὺς καὶ κοσμίους. The same class are referred to in I. 5 as ἀνδρείους; hence Cobet prefers ἀλλεῖλους than

reading in Stobaeos. ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀγαθῆαι, 'instead of admiring'. On the limitations to the use of the articular infinitive with prepositions see my n. on Oecon. xiii 6. 5 τοὺς μὲν ἀνδρείους—τοὺς δὲ σοφοὺς are in partitive apposition to 13 τοὺτους: cf. iii 8. 8 προστατεῖσθαι, *regi*, 'to be governed'.

§ 2 l. 8 ὅταν—ὑπεξαιρῶνται, 'whenever they exclude, except, such characters because of the fear they have of them'.

10 χρῆσθαι 'for use', the infinitive (as an indirect object) denoting the intent of the action: G. § 265, HA. § 951.

ἀλλ' ἢ, *nisi*, 'except', only used after a negative or quasi-negative in the main construction. See my n. on Oecon. ii 13. By the ἀλλὰ the exception to the negative (or interrogative) which has preceded is stated flatly; the ἢ allows the negative statement to revive, subject to this exception alone. Riddell, *Digest of Platonic idioms* § 148 g, p. 175.

11 ἀκρατεῖς, 'wanting in self-control')(σοφοί = σώφρονες. Cp. Mem. iii ix 4 σοφίαν δὲ καὶ σωφροσύνην οὐ διώριζεν.

12 φοβούνται τὰς πόλεις μήποτε κτλ., for φοβούνται μήποτε αἱ πόλεις κτλ., the subject of the accessory sentence being anticipated as the object of the principal clause: so Xen. Hell. vi iv 32 εἰδισαν—τὸν Ἰάσονα μὴ τύραννος γένοιτο.

14 ἑγκρατεῖς αὐτῶν, *eorum compotes*, 'masters of them' scil. τῶν ἀδίκων, the personal pronoun serving as indirect reflexive: see HA. § 684 a. τῆς εἰς τὸ παρὸν ἐξουσίας ἕνεκα, 'for the sake of license for the moment', i.e. they are satisfied with any government under which they can enjoy a certain amount of license and indulgence. 15 ἀνδραποδώδεις, *servili ingenio praediti*, 'slavish' opposed to εὐθεῖροι (Arist. Eth. Nic. iv viii 5). 16 οὐδ' αὐτοὶ ἀξιοῦσιν, *ne ipsi quidem volunt*, 'they are not either themselves desirous'.

§ 3 l. 21 σώζεσθαι 'to do well, prosper'. Cf. de rep. Lac. 9, 2 ἔπεται τῇ ἀρετῇ σώζεσθαι εἰς τὸν πλεῖον χρόνον, Plutarch de disc. ad. ab am. 74 c with Wytttenbach's note, Plato legg. ix p. 662 f ἐν ἀνθρώποις μέλλουσιν σώζεσθαι καὶ εὐδαιμονεῖν. οὐτ' ἂν εὐδαιμονεῖν scil. δύναιτο. 22 ταῖς ἑαυτῶν: for the transition from singular to plural cf. ii 13, iii 4.

23 ἐγκαλεῖν, 'to blame, cast a slur upon'. τοὺς τυράννους is understood after ἀναγκάξῃ. Cf. Cyr. vii ii 22 οὐδὲν ἐνεκάλουν ταῖς τύχαις. Sturz in v. observes that this passage requires the sense *spemere* or *odisse* or *timere* rather than *conqueri*.

οὐτε ἀλκίμους χαίρουσι παρασκευάζοντες, 'they take no pleasure in rendering them either brave or etc.' Cf. Oecon. v 15 τοὺς ἐργαστήρας προθύμους παρασκευάζειν, Mem. iii iv 8 τοὺς ἀρχομένους κατηκόους παρασκευάζειν εὐπειθεῖς τε ἑαυτοῖς.

26 τοῦτοις χρώνται δορυφόροις, 'make use of these as a body-guard'. Mark the difference between this and τούτοις χρώνται τοῖς δορυφόροις. The apposition of a predicate noun, that may be resolved by 'as', is rarely found with the objects of a verb which are not in the accusative, except with χρῆσθαι (dative) and τυγχάνειν (genitive) as Anab. v v 15 ἐρωτᾶτε τοὺς Τραπεζυντίους, ὁποίων τινῶν ἡμῶν ἐτυχον, 'what sort of people they found us'.

§ 4 l. 27 ἄν for ἐάν=εἰ ἄν, G. § 219, 2. εὐετηρίων, (εἰ, ἔτος, annus) 'good seasons' (for the produce of the earth). 28 οὐδὲ τότε, *ne tunc quidem*. συγχάρι, sc. τοῖς πολίταις. 29 ἐνδεεστέροις...ταπεινοτέροις, *quo egentioribus—eo summissioribus*, 'the more needy—the more submissive', 'submissive in proportion to their indigence'. Cf. i 20 l. 118. 30 οἴονται χρῆσθαι, 'they expect to find them'. For the transition from the singular to plural cf. above l. 23.

CHAPTER VI

Hieron then proceeds to describe the pleasures which he enjoyed, as a private man, but from which he is altogether debarred as a despot, with the anxieties to which he is subject in his present position. 'I used' he says 'to converse familiarly with and to take pleasure in the society of my equals in age and they in mine: I could do as I pleased, enjoy occasional solitude or forget the chagrins of life in convivial mirth, and give myself up to the delights of music and the dance. But now I have no familiar friends to delight in my society, none but slaves for my companions, and I have myself lost all pleasure in the society of

my former companions, because I see no sympathy in them towards me. I have to guard against excess in drink and sleep, as against insidious foes (§ 1—§ 3). I am in continual alarm whether in a crowd or in solitude, I am in fear without guards, and am afraid of the guards themselves. What a wretched state of existence is this! To place greater confidence in strangers than in one's own fellow-citizens, in Barbarians than in Greeks, to be compelled to treat freemen as slaves and slaves as freemen, is a sign of a mind deranged by fear. This passion of fear not only produces constant uneasiness but poisons life and mars all its enjoyment. Despots are even worse off than commanders who have to face the enemy, for they fancy that they see enemies not only in front of them but surrounding them on all sides and at all times (§ 4—§ 8).

Simonides replies: 'War is undoubtedly subject to continual alarms, but when we are in the field, we first post our sentinels, and then we can eat and sleep in security' (§ 9).

'No doubt' says Hiero, 'for the guards do their duty through fear of the laws; but despots have only mercenaries for their guards, whom they pay as they do their harvest labourers, and though the principal duty of guards is to be faithful to their trust, yet, for one faithful guard, you will find hundreds of faithful workmen in any branch of business; especially when these guards enlist themselves for the sake of the stipend; and have it in their power to gain a much larger sum in a short time by assassinating their master, than they would receive from him for many years' faithful attendance' (§ 10—§ 12).

'As to despots being better able to serve their friends and suppress their enemies—this is also a mistaken notion. For how can you think to serve friends when you know that he who is under the greatest obligation to you will be the most delighted to withdraw himself from your sight and to avoid further intercourse with you? for no one considers what he has received from a despot as his own, until he has escaped from his power. Then as for his enemies, he knows that all men are his enemies who are subject to his power; and, if he could get rid of them all by killing or imprisoning them, whom would he have left to govern? So that he must be on his

guard against them, and yet at the same time make use of their services. Those of his subjects whom he dreads he cannot bear to see alive, and yet it is a sore trial to him to put them to death. There are also many other possessions which, though useful, are sources of trouble to their possessors, and yet they cannot lose them without regret' (§ 13—§ 16).

§ 1 l. 1 *κακείνας* by crasis for *καὶ ἐκείνας*. 2 *ἐφ' φροσύνas*, see n. to vii 4. 3 *δοαὶς ἐγὼ χρώμενος—στερόμενος αὐτῶν*, *quibus ego usus, dum eram privatus, nunc, postquam tyrannidem adeptus sum, eis privatum me video*. The force of the imperfect participle *χρώμενος* will be perceived if we substitute the finite verb for it: the sentence will then run *δοαὶς ἐγὼ ἐχρώμην μὲν, ὅτ' ἦν ἰδιώτης, νῦν δὲ—ἀσθάνομαι στερόμενος αὐτῶν*. See for continuation of relative clause by demonstrative HA. § 1005, G. § 156. 3 *ἐπειδὴ ἐγενόμην*, 'ever since I first became', ingressive aorist, see G. § 200 Note 5 (b), HA. § 841 and cf. Cyr. i 4 l. 57 with my note.

§ 2 l. 4 *συνὴν μὲν—συνὴν δέ*, an epanaphora, cf. i 5. 5 *συνὴν ἑμαυτῷ*, 'I was my own companion', 'was left to my own companionship'. 6 *ὁπότε—ἐπιθυμήσαιμι*, G. § 225, § 233. 7 *μέχρι τοῦ ἐπιλαθέσθαι*, see note to v 5. 8 *εἰ τι, siquid, quidquid*, xi 10. 9 *μέχρι τοῦ τὴν ψυχὴν συγκαταμιγνύναι*, 'even to the point of completely mingling up my soul with, becoming absorbed in'. 11 *κοινῆς εὐθυμίας*, 'general merriment'. The ms reading is *μέχρι ἐπιθυμίας*, which Erasmus renders *usque ad communem satietatem*. The reading of the text, suggested by Weiske, is accepted by Cobet. Cf. Cyr. iv v 7 *οἱ δὲ Μῆδοι καὶ εὐωχοῦντο καὶ ἔπινον καὶ ἠύλουντο καὶ πάσης εὐθυμίας ἐνεπλήμπαντο*, i 13 *περὶ εὐθυμίας ἐτόγχανεν ὦν*.

§ 3 l. 13 *δοῦλους*, predicate-noun, HA. § 618. 15 *ἐνορᾶν σκίλ. αὐτοῖς*, 'see in them'. *ἐμοί* is the dative after *εὐνοῖαν*, G. § 185, HA. § 765 a. Cf. Cyr. i iv 17 with my note. 16 *ὁμοίως ἐνέδρα*: cf. Ages. xi 5 *τοὺς κρυψινόους ὥσπερ ἐνέδρας ἐφυλάττετο*.

§ 4 l. 18 ἀφύλαξιν, 'absence of guards', Oecon. iv 10. αὐτοῦς, *ipse*. 20 περὶ αὐτόν, 'about oneself', the subject of the previous infinitives being indefinite. 21 ἀργαλέον πρᾶγμα, 'a painful business', Arist. Plut. 1, Thesm. 788, Lys. 764. A poetical word akin to δῆλος.

§ 5 l. 22 βαρβάρους: this term included all that were not Hellenes or did not speak their language (Anab. ii i 7, rep. Athen. ii vii 11, especially the Medes and Persians (Cyr. vi iv 9, viii viii 3, Anab. i v 16). 25 ποιεῖν ἐλευθέρους, G. § 166. 26 καταπεπληγμένης, 'that has been cowed'. Cobet prefers παραπεπληγμένης 'deranged', the reading in Stobaeus, but cf. Cyrop. iii i 25 πάντων τῶν δεινῶν ὁ φόβος μάλιστα καταπλήττει τὰς ψυχάς.

§ 6 l. 27 αὐτός, *ipse*. ἐνὼν ταῖς ψυχαῖς, G. § 187, HA. § 775. 29 συμπαρομαρτῶν λυμαντήρ: see crit. n. The word λυμαντήρ is un-Attic; it occurs in ch. iii 3. See Greek Index s. v. for words with a similar termination used by Xen.

§ 7 l. 30 πολεμικῶν, *rerum bellicarum*, 'of warfare'. 31 ἤδη ποτέ, 'at any time ere now'. 32 ποῖόν τινα, HA. § 702 a; cf. Cyr. ii ii 10 οὐκ οἶδ' αὖ ποῖους τινὰς χρὴ μάλλον εὐξασθαι ἢ τοιοῦτους στρατιώτας ἔχειν. σῖτον ἥρου, *cibum tibi sumpsisti*, cf. Cyr. viii i 38 οὐτε αὐτός ποτε πρὶν ιδρῶσαι δεῖπνον ἡρεῖτο. 33 ὕπνον ἐκοιμῶ, G. § 159, HA. § 715 b.

§ 8 l. 34 τοιαῦτ' αἰεὶ ἐστί. The common reading is τοιαῦτ' εἰσὶ, in which Cobet traces the reading which I have adopted: the opposition between τότε and αἰεὶ seems to be required by the context. 35 καί, *atque adeo*, 'and indeed', 'or rather'.

ἐξ ἐναντίας sc. ὁδοῦ, i. q. ἐναντίον, *ex adverso*, 'from an opposite direction, facing' (ἐκ πλαγίου. Cf. Cyr. vii i 20 περὶ τῶν ἐξ ἐναντίας ἡμῶν μελήσει, Thuc. iv 35, 2 προσιόντες 15 ἐξ ἐναντίας, vii 44, 4. 36 ὁρᾶν νομίζουσιν, 'they imagine that they see', G. § 134, 3, HA. § 940.

§ 9 l. 38 ὑπολαβὼν, 'taking up the discourse', 'in answer'. ὑπέρεν, *egregie*, 'extremely well'. The word occurs in Dem. de coron. p. 228, 17 § 10 and in Plato Theaet. p. 185 d.

39 **πόλεμος φοβερόν**: For a similar use of a neuter predicate adjective see Eur. Suppl. 508 **σφαλερόν ἡγεμῶν θρασύς**, Herc. F. 1292 **αἱ μεταβολαὶ λυπηρόν**, Hipp. 109 **τερπνὸν ἐκ κυναγίας τράπεζα πλήρης**, Xen. r. eq. vi 13 **ἀπρονόητον ἡ ὀργή**, Oec. viii 4 **στρατιὰ παραχωδέστατον**, Arist. Plut. 203 **δειλότατόν ἐσθ' ὁ πλοῦτος**, in all which passages observe that **ἐστί** is omitted. 40 **μέν—ἀλλά** 'it is true—but'. Both **ἀλλά** and **μέντοι** frequently take the place of **δέ** as correlatives to **μέν**, especially where a stronger opposition is to be marked, cf. ii 2. 42 **ὑπνου λαγχάνομεν**, the usual expression in Attic Greek: cf. Cyr. iii i 24 **οὔτοι μὲν οὔτε σίτου οὔθ' ὑπνου δύνανται λαγχάνειν διὰ τὸν φόβον**, Anab. iii i 11 **μικρὸν δὲ ὑπνου λαχὼν εἶδεν ὄναρ**, Arist. Ach. 713 **οὐκ ἐὰθ' ὑπνου λαχεῖν**, where however **τυχεῖν** is commonly read. See crit. n.

§ 10 l. 43 **ναὶ μὰ Δία**, i 13. 44 **αὐτῶν—προφύλαττονουσιν**, *pro eis* (scil. custodibus) *excubias agunt* i.e., as Portus explains it, 'metu legum excubitores suum officium faciunt'. Cf. x 6. **περὶ ἑαυτῶν**, 'for themselves', 'on their own account', i.e. lest they should be punished for negligence; **ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν** 'in your interest', lest harm should happen to you. 46 **μισθοῦ**, gen. of value, G. § 178, HA. § 746. Cf. Ages. iv 4 **εἰ ἐπώλει τὰς χάριτας ἢ μισθοῦ εὐεργέτει**, Cyr. iii iii 3, Mem. v viii 2 **μισθοῦ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐργάζεσθαι**. **θεριστάς**, 'labourers in the harvest', 'qui plus danti facile se addicunt' (*Breitenbach*).

§ 11 l. 47 **οὕτω—ὥς, tantopere—quantopere**. **χαλεπότερον** sc. **ἐστί**. 49 **ὅποσον βούλει ἔργον**, 'of any sort of trade you will', by attraction and assimilation for **ἔργον ὅποιον βούλει**, G. § 154 Note, HA. § 995 a. 50 **ἄλλως τε καί**, 'both in other respects and', 'especially'. 52 **ἀποκτεῖνασι**, G. § 277, 2, HA. § 969 a.

§ 12 l. 54 **δ δ' ἐξηλωσας ἡμᾶς**, 'as to your congratulations, felicitations of us'. Cf. iv 6, Oecon. xv 6 **δ δὲ εἰπας ὥς δέ μιν μαθεῖν—ταῦτα κτλ.**, where in like manner **ταῦτα** refers to the single statement introduced by the words **δ εἰπας**, HELL. ii vii

45 δ' δ' αὖ εἶπεν, ὡς ἐγὼ εἰμι οἷος αἰεὶ ποτε μεταβάλλεσθαι, κατανοήσατε καὶ ταῦτα. Compare the use of the Latin *quod* 'as to the circumstance that', on which see Madvig Lat. Gr. § 398 b Obs. 2, cf. iii 3. 56 πάντων μάλιστα: see note on iii 6. οὐδὲ ταῦθ' οὕτως ἔχει, 'this is not the case either'. Cf. iv 6.

§ 13 l. 57 πῶς ἂν νομίσαις: see note on i i l. 3.

59 ἥδιστ' ἂν—ἐξ ὀφθαλμῶν σου γένοιτο, 'would be most glad to get out of your sight'. Cf. Herod. v 106, 7 ἐμεῦ ἐξ ὀφθαλμῶν σφι γενομένου, Dion Cass. lx 34 ἐξ ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτῷ ἐπίτηδες ὑπ' ἐκείνης τὰ πολλὰ γιγνόμενον, Alciphron Epist. 3, 20, 3 (writing about a conjuror) ἀνελόμενος (τὰ λιθίδια) ἐξ ὀφθαλμῶν ἐποίησεν. 61 αὐτοῦ νομίζει, 'considers as belonging to himself', predicate-genitive referring to the object of the sentence, HA. § 782 b. Cp. Ages. i 33 εἰ τινες τὴν Ἀσίαν αὐτῶν ποιοῦνται. πρὶν ἂν—γίνηται. When πρὶν is used with a finite mood (indic. subj. or opt.), it=our 'until' in negative or quasi-negative sentences, HA. § 924 a. A few exceptions and irregularities are noticed by Shilleto in a critical note on Dem. *de fals. leg.* § 235. See also Kühner § 568. 62 ἔξω τῆς τούτου ἐπικρατείας, 'out of his dominion' or 'beyond his jurisdiction'.

Cf. Anab. vii vi 42 ἀπιμεν ἐκ τῆς τούτων ἐπικρατείας, v iv 4 κρήνη... ὑπὸ τῇ ἐπικρατείᾳ τοῦ χωρίου i.e. *huius loci ditioni subiectus* i.e. *intra huius loci fines situs*, Cyr. v iv 28 τὰς νομὰς τῶν κτηνῶν τοὺς αὐτοῦ φίλους ἐκέλευσε καταθέσθαι, εἰ βούλονται, ἐν τῇ αὐτῶν ἐπικρατείᾳ, v 24 τὰ σὰ χωρία τὰ πρότερον εἰς τὴν Σύρων ἐπικράτειαν συγκαταρπυνέτα.

§ 14 l. 63 The order is πῶς δ' αὖ ἂν φαίης ἐξεῖναι (*licere*) μάλιστα τοῖς τυράννοις χειροῦσθαι ἐχθρούς; the emphatic word ἐχθρούς occupying the first place. 65 τυραννοῦμενοι: 16 ii 11. κατακαίνειν, 'to kill outright', see crit. n. 66 δεσμεύειν: see crit. n. τίνων ἔτι ἄρξει; sc. ὁ τύραννος, 'whom will he have left to rule?' Such transitions from plural to singular and *vice versa* are common in Greek: cf. iii 4, iv 2, vii 3. 68 δέη: supply *ἴσταν* from l. 64. καὶ χρῆσθαι δ' αὐτοῖς, 'and (δέ) to use them also' (καί). Observe that καί—δέ takes the place of ἅμα δέ, the normal correlative of ἅμα μέν. So Cyr. i iv 8 we have ἅμα μέν followed by ἔτι δὲ καί.

§ 15 l. 70 οὗς τῶν πολιτῶν δεδίασι for τούτους των πολιτῶν οὗς δεδίασι, G. § 168, HA. § 73. χαλεπῶς, *aegre*, 'with reluctance'. 71 αὐτούς: see n. to i l. 96. ζώντας ὀρώσι: see G. § 279, 2 and cf. iv 8 l. 46. 72 ἵππος: for a similar anacoluthon cf. iv 6 with note. 73 φοβερός—μη—ποιήση, the personal construction instead of the impersonal, as in δῆλος, δίκαιός εἰμι etc., HA. § 944 a, G. § 280 Note 1. Cf. Anab. v vii 2 φοβεροὶ ἦσαν μη ποιήσειαν for φοβερόν ἦν μη ποιήσειαν, Herod. i 155 οὐδὲν δεινοὶ τοι ἔσονται μη ἀποστέωσι for οὐδὲν δεινόν τοι ἔσται, μη ἐκείνοι ἀποστέωσι. 74 ἀποκτείνει: an un-Attic form for ἀποκτείνειε. See Rutherford's *New Phrynichus* p. 433 ff. ἀρετήν, 'good qualities'. 75 χρῆτο: 3d pers. sing. opt. pr. from χρῆσθαι contr. from χράοιτο. The *ἄν* must of course be repeated with this verb.

§ 16 l. 76 καί—γε, 'aye and', i 17, 22. 78 ὁμοίως ἀπαντα, *itidem omnia*, 'all alike'. λυπεῖ μὲν—λυπεῖ δέ, see n. to i 5. τοὺς κεκτημένους, 'their possessors'. λυπεῖ ἀπαλλαττομένους, 'it vexes them to part with them'. Observe the difference in the meaning of the participle when used with and without the article. In the latter case we should translate by the infinitive: see my note to Oecon. iv i l. 4 and cp. Cyr. ii i 3 οὐκ ἂν σε ἀκούσαντα εὐφράνειεν. Cobet's alteration into ἀπαλλαττόμενα is quite unnecessary.

CHAPTER VII

Simonides rejoins:—'Honour and a brilliant position must be things of inestimable value, if they are worth purchasing at the price which you describe. The desire of honour indeed is the distinguishing characteristic of man from other animals, and those in whom it is most conspicuous are usually the furthest removed from mere brutes. It is no wonder that you submit to all the inconveniences attending royalty, when you are so much more honoured than other men. For nothing brings a man so near the gods, as the feeling of being honoured' (§ 1—§ 4).

'True' answers Hieron, 'but the marks of honour paid to despots by those who stand in fear of them are not considered as such, they are mere acts of servility. True honour springs from an opposite sentiment to that of fear; it must emanate from the spontaneous voice of freemen. 'To live upon men's tongues and be their talk', and at the same time to hold a position in their hearts as doers of good, to be the object of devotion and reverence and yet not of fear—this is real honour. But a despot enjoys no such satisfaction. He lives in a constant state of suspense and anxiety, like a criminal under sentence of death by every one' (§ 5—§ 10).

'Why then' says Simonides 'do you not abdicate? How happens it that no despot has ever yet shown a disposition to abdicate?' (§ 11).

Hieron answers: 'The impossibility of laying down his power is one of the greatest hardships to which a despot is subjected. He cannot endure his present condition, but he cannot retire from it with safety, even if he would, because of the number of persons whom he has been obliged to make his enemies. The best thing he can do is to hang himself' (§ 12—§ 13).

§ 11. 1 ταῦτα αὐτοῦ ἤκουσεν: G. § 171, 2 Note 1, HA. § 742 c.

2 μέγα τι: see n. to ii 16. 3 ἧς ὀρεγόμενοι, 'in their efforts to attain which', ix 5, G. § 171, 1. ὀρέγεσθαι is properly 'to stretch forth one's hand', and with gen. 'to reach at', hence metaph. 'to reach after, aim at, desire'. πάντα—μὲν—πάντα δέ: see n. to i 5. ὑποδύνται, *subeunt*, 'undergo'.

§ 21. 5 τοσαῦτα πράγματα ἐχούσης, 'although it involves so much trouble', G. § 277, 5, HA. § 969 e: cf. Cyr. viii ii 21 τὰ περιττὰ χρήματα πράγματα ἐχουσιν; the usual import of the phrase πράγματα ἐχειν is 'to have trouble about a thing'. 6 προπετῶς φέρεσθε, 'rush headlong'. 7 ὅπως—ὑπηρετῶσιν ὑμῖν—πάντα τὰ προσταττόμενα, 'in order that they may do all that is enjoined them in your service'; the neuter adjective in lieu of kindred noun, G. § 159 Note 2, HA. § 716 b. Cf. i 8, Cyr. vi ii 2 κὰν ταῦτά μοι καλῶς ὑπηρετήσητε, 37 ἀ ἐπίστανται τῷ βουλομένῳ μισθοῦ ὑπηρε-

τοῦντες. 8 ἀπροφασίστως, *sine excusatione*, *prompte*, 'unhesitatingly'. Cf. Cyr. II iii 8, VIII i 29 τοὺς ἀπροφασίστως πειθόμενους τιμῶν. 9 περιβλέπτωσι, *suspicious*, 'may look up to you with respect'. Hence περιβλεπτος, 'admired of all', xi 9. ὑπανιστάνται ἀπὸ τῶν θάκων: In Herod.

(II 80) we find οἱ νεώτεροι τοῖσι πρεσβυτέροισι συντυγχάνοντες εἰκονοῦσι τῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ ἐπιούσι ἐξ ἑδρῆς ὑπανιστάται. The usual phrase is ὑπανίστασθαι τῶν θάκων, τῆς ἑδρας, 'to rise from one's seat', as a mark of respect to another. So below I. 32, I. 44, Symp. IV 31 ὑπανίστανται μοι θάκων καὶ ὁδῶν ἐξίστανται, Arist. Nub. 993 τῶν θάκων τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις ὑπανίστασθαι. In rep. Lac. xv 6, ἑδρας πάντες ὑπανίστανται βασιλεῖ, πλὴν οὐκ ἐφοροὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐφορικῶν δίφρων, the two constructions are seen side by side. 10 ὁδῶν παραχωρῶσι, 'make room for, get out of the way for', so below I. 33, Mem. II iii 16 ὁδοῦ παραχωρῆσαι τὸν νεώτερον πρεσβυτέρῳ συντυγχάνοντι πανταχοῦ νομίζεται καὶ καθήμενον ὑπαναστῆναι, Cyrop. VII v 20 ὁ ποταμὸς ἡμῶν παρακεχώρηκε τῆς εἰς τὴν πόλιν ὁδοῦ.

γεραίρωσι, *ornent*, 'honour', a poetical word, frequently used by Xen., e.g. Cyr. VIII i 39 τοῦτους καὶ δώροις καὶ ἑδραῖς καὶ πάσαις τιμαῖς ἐγέειραιεν, Hell. I vii 33 στεφάνοις γεραίρειν τοὺς νικῶντας, Oecon. IV 8. 11 οἱ παρόντες ἀέ: ἀέ: 'each time' is placed after the participle, when it refers to the finite verb no less than to the participle: cf. Oecon. VIII 7, xix 19.

12 γὰρ δὲ, 'for of course, as a matter of fact'. τοιαῦτα ποιοῦσι τοῖς τυράννοις, not 'they do these kind of things to despots', which would require τοιαῦτα ποιοῦσι τοὺς τυράννους, but 'they do these kind of things in honour of despots' (*dativus commodi*), G. § 165. See cr. n. 13 καὶ ἄλλον ὄντινα for καὶ ὄντινα ἄλλον ἀέ τ. τ., scil. τοῦτω ταῦτα ποιοῦσι, *et aliis, quos quocumque tempore prosequuntur honore*.

§ 3 I. 14 ἀνὴρ, not ἄνθρωπος, because Xen. is here speaking of man in a higher sense, as raised above the level of the brute creation, and not as a mere ζῶον. 15 τῷ ὀρέγεσθαι, exegetical infinitive in apposition to τοῦτω; see n. to Oecon. xiv 10 and for the dative G. § 188 Note 1, HA. § 780. ἐπεὶ, 'for'. For the sentiment cp. the *Spectator* No 467: 'Those who

are most affected with the love of praise seem most to partake of that particle of the Divinity which distinguishes mankind from the inferior creation', Cic. de off. i viii 26. 16 ὑπονοῖς: the plural probably is used for the sake of assimilation with 17 σίτοις and ποτοῖς. 17 πάντα ὁμοίως: vi 16. 19 ἐμφύη: subj. of ἐνέφυν. The mss reading ἐμφυῆ would imply the existence of a form φυῆναι, formed after the analogy of ῥυῆναι, but this was confined to later Greek. οἷς δ' ἄν—οὔτοι: see n. to iii 4. 20 ἡδῆ: i 36. 21 ἄνδρες—ἄνθρωποι: cf. ii 1 note and add to the exx. there quoted Anab. i vii 4, Philostr. V. A. 1, 16 οὐκ ἀνθρώπων ἑαυτῷ δεῖν ἀλλ' ἀνδρῶν. Frotscher compares Cic. Ep. ad fam. v 17 3 ne hoc quidem praetermittendum esse dixi, te ut hortarer rogaremque, ut et hominem te et virum esse meminisses.

§ 4 l. 22 ἐμοὶ μὲν: see note to i 7. 23 εἰκότως—ὑπομένειν: For ἐπικουφίζει τι ἡ τιμὴ τοὺς πόνοὺς τῷ ἄρχοντι Cyr. i vi 25. 24 διαφερόντως τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων, the genitive of distinction, HA. § 753 g. 26 τοῦ θεοῦ ἐγγυτέρω: G. § 75 Note 1, § 182, 2, HA. § 260, § 757. 27 εὐφροσύνη, 'mirth', another poetical word often used by Xenophon, as below viii 3, Cyr. iii iii 7 δοκεῖ ἡμῖν εὐφροσύνη τις νῦν παρῆναι, ὅτι εὐπορία τις προσγεγένηται, vii 4, 6 εἰρήνης καὶ εὐφροσύνης πάντα πλέα ἦν, viii vii 12 ὅταν ἀνθρωπίνης εὐφροσύνης ἐπιδεῖς ἔσῃ; but chiefly in the plural in a concrete sense, as above i 2, Cyr. vii ii 28 ἐκείνη (ἡ γυνή) τῶν ἀγαθῶν καὶ εὐφροσυνῶν πασῶν ἐμοὶ τὸ ἴσον μετεῖχε, ib. viii i 32 προπονεῖν σὺν τῷ καλῷ τῶν εὐφροσυνῶν, Agesil. ix 3 ἡγάλλετο, ὅτι αὐτὸς ἐν μέσσοις ταῖς εὐφροσύναις ἀναστρέφοιτο, rep. Lac. vii 6 ἡ κτήσις πλείους λύπας ἢ ἡ χρήσις εὐφροσύνας παρέχει, Mem. iii viii 10 γραφαὶ καὶ ποικιλίαι πλείονας εὐφροσύνας ἀποστεροῦσιν ἢ παρέχουσι, Oecon. ix 12 τῶν εὐφροσυνῶν μεταδιδόντες, Apol. 8 γήρ, εἰς δ' πάντα τὰ χαλεπὰ συρρεῖ καὶ μάλα ἔρημα τῶν εὐφροσυνῶν. L. Dindorf is mistaken in asserting (Steph. Thesaur. iii p. 2502 b) that the word 'saepius est etiam apud Platonem et Demosthenem aliosque'. As a matter of fact, in the former writer it only occurs thrice, each time in reference to its supposed derivation (εὐ, φέρεσθαι), viz. Defn. p. 413 κ, Cratyl.

p. 419 D, Timae. p. 80 B; in the latter only once, de fals. leg. p. 422, 6, in a quotation from Solon.

§ 5 l. 29 αἱ ὑπουργαὶ αἱ ὑπὸ φοβουμένων 'services rendered by men under fear'. For the use of ὑπό with verbal substantive to denote the acting person or efficient cause cp. viii 4, Cyr. iii iii 2, Plat. Rep. p. 378 D Ἦρας δεσμοῦς ὑπὸ νίεος καὶ Ἡφαιστου βίψεις ὑπὸ πατρὸς; also for the absence of the article before the participle ix 3 τὸ μὲν ἀνάγκης δεδμενον κολάζειν.

§ 7 l. 30 ἂν φαίμεν, see note to i 1. 31 διὰ τὸ τιμᾶν τοὺς ἀδικούντας, 'out of respect for their oppressors'.

§ 8 l. 34 καί—γε: vi 16. 35 καὶ ταῦτα sc. τὰ δῶρα, either 'and those too', as in ii 2, or simply *idque* 'and that too'.

36 μή—ὑπ' αὐτῶν πάθωσιν, G. § 218. For the use of ὑπό to denote the agent or author, with intransitive neuter verbs in passive sense, see HA. § 808, 1 b. 38 ἐκ τῶν ἐναντίων τοῦτοις, 'from the opposite sentiments to these', i.e. not from hatred and servile fear but from love and sympathy.

§ 9 l. 39 ἄνθρωποι, i 2 note. 40 ἡγησάμενοι—νομίσαντες: with verbs of thinking, wishing and those which denote generally any mental act, the Greeks often use the aorist participle, where we use the present. ἀπολαύειν αὐτοῦ ἀγαθὰ νομίσαντες, ἔπειτα—ἔχωσιν, 'because they think that they reap some advantages from him, for that reason have his praises always in their mouth'. Some take the present infinitive (ἀπολαύειν) here to be used for the future infinitive (see G. § 203 note 2, Lobeck on *Phrynichus* p. 746 ff. and cf. *Oecon.* vi 11, *Ages.* ii 8), but this does not appear necessary. On the use of ἔπειτα with the principal verb after a participle to mark with emphasis that the principal action takes place as a consequence of the action expressed by the participle, see HA. § 976 b.—Ἐπειτα however is generally used in the sense of *tamen*, not, as here, in that of *propterea*.

41 ἀνάσσειν ἔχωσιν: Eur. *Electr.* 80 θεοὺς ἔχων ἀνὰ στέμα, Andr. 95 ἀνὰ στέμ' ἀεὶ καὶ διὰ γλώσσης ἔχειν, *Hom.* II. xi 258

- τῷ οὐκ ἂν βασιλῆας ἀνὰ στόμ' ἔχων ἀγορεύουσ. The phrase διὰ στόματος ἔχειν occurs in Cyr. i iv 25. 43 οἰκεῖον—ἀγαθόν, ut sibi peculiare—bonum. 45 μὴ φοβούμενοι: the μὴ is controlled by the εἴταν in l. 39. The apodosis begins with οἱ τοῖς l. 47. κοινῇ, communiter. So Cobet. The common reading κοινῆς can scarcely mean 'public virtue', as it has been translated. 46 δωρεῖσθαι ἐθέλωσιν, 'are glad to make him presents'. οἱ αὐτοί, iidem, 'likewise'. See, however 18 cr. n. 48 τοιαῦτα ὑπουργήσωσι: see note to l. 7. τούτων, 'these marks of respect'. 49 τιμᾶσθαι sc. δοκεῖ μοι. τῷ ὄντι i.q. ἀληθῶς, 'really' 'effectually'.

§ 10 l. 51 φροντίζόμενον μὴ τι πάθῃ. As the active φροντίζειν μὴ τι πάθῃ means 'to be anxious for another that he may not come to harm', so the object of the concern of others is said φροντίζεσθαι μὴ τι πάθῃ. Cobet compares a similar use of the passive de re equestri xi 7, where the horse from which a rider dismounts is said καταβαίνεισθαι 'to be dismounted from', ἦν δὲ καὶ ὁ ἵππος ταχύ τε καταβαίνεται καὶ ἀποχαλινώται, and Oecon. iv 3 αἱ βανασικαὶ καλούμεναι (τέχναι) εἰκότως πάνυ ἀδοξοῦνται πρὸς τῶν πόλεων. 55 οὕτως bears demonstrative reference to the preceding clause ὡς—ἀποθνήσκειν. εὐ ἴσθι, as in Oecon. x 13, *extra constructionem*. 56 διδάγει: i 8.

§ 11 l. 57 διήκουσεν, 'had heard to the end': Oecon. xi 1. 58 καὶ πῶς; see n. to i l. 6. τὸ τυραννεῖν, G. § 258, H.A. § 959. 59 ἔγνωκας, expertus es. 60 οὔτε ἄλλος μὲν δὴ οὐδεὶς, 'nor in fact, it may be enough to say, any one else', the enumeration beginning with μὲν is cut short by δὴ, one consideration μὲν and there an end. 61 ἐκὼν εἶναι, G. § 268 Note, H.A. § 956 a. οὐδεὶς πώποτε... τυραννίδος ἀφείτο, 'no one ever yet gave up despotic power'. ἀφείτο aor. 2 mid.=ἀπηλλάγη. Cf. Cyr. ii i 21 ἀφείμενοι τοῦ πολλοῖς προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν, Oecon. vi 16 ἀφείμενον τῆς καλῆς δψεως, de red. iv 6 ἀφείμενοι τοῦ τὴν γῆν ἐργάζεσθαι, Soph. Oed. Tyr. 1521 ἀφου τέκνων, Thuc. ii 60 μὴ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῆς σωτηρίας ἀφίεσθε. ὅσπερ ἀπαξ ἐκτήσατο, see cr. n.

§ 12 l. 63 ταύτη, *hoc nomine*, 'in this point, herein', as explained in the following sentence introduced by γάρ.

ἀθλιώτατον: see note to vi 9. For the sentiment cp. Plutarch Solon c. 14 πρὸς τοὺς φίλους εἶπεν (Σόλων) καλὸν μὲν εἶναι τὴν τυραννίδα χωρὶον, οὐκ ἔχειν δὲ ἀπόβασιν.

οὐδὲ γάρ, *neque enim*, a stronger negative than οὐ γάρ, corresponding to the positive καὶ γάρ. 65 πῶς ἂν—ἔαρκεσει—ἐκτίνων, 'how is it possible that he should pay enough (to repay those)' etc.? The verb ἀρκεῖν has here the same personal construction as in Oecon. xii 4 ὅστις μέλλει ἀρκεσεῖν ἐπιμελούμενος, Cyt. iv v 44 οὐτε ἐγὼ ἀρκέσω πράττω τι πρὸ ὑμῶν ὅ τι ἂν δέη οὐτε ὑμεῖς πρὸ ἡμῶν, v iv 36.

66 ὅσους ἀφείλετο, τοῦτοις ὅσους ἀφείλετο χρήματα: see G. § 164, H.A. § 724, for the double accusative. ἢ (πῶς ἂν) δεσμοὺς ἀντιπαράσχοι ὅσους δὴ ἰδέσμευσεν, *aut (qui fieri potest ut) tamdiu in carcere degat ipse quamdiu alios in vinculis tenuerit?* 'or how could he replace in his own person the exact (δὴ) number of imprisonments which he inflicted on others?' I have followed Cobet in rejecting the emendation ἀντιπάρσχοι proposed by D'Orville on Chariton p. 217 and admitted by all subsequent editors. Cobet justly observes that δεσμὸν παράσχειν is not a Greek expression, and that there is a distinction between δεσμά *vincula*, 'bonds', and δεσμός, *in carcerem coniectio, captivitas in vinculis*, 'imprisonment'. The latter is the same in signification as τὸ δέδεσθαι, just as θάνατος = τὸ τεθνάναι; as then θάνατοι may be used to express the death of several persons, so here δεσμοί is said of the 'imprisonment of several persons'. The Greek equivalent for 'to be as long in prison yourself as you have left another in prison' would be δεσμὸν ἀντιπαρέχειν τινι; so δεσμοὺς ἀντιπαρέχειν ὅσους τις αὐτὸς ἔδησεν might be very well applied to a despot undergoing a term of imprisonment as long as the combined terms of imprisonment inflicted by him on others. 67 ὅσους ἰδέσμευσεν. On the form δεσμεύειν see crit. note to vi 14.

68 πῶς ἂν ἱκανὰς ψυχὰς κτλ., *qui fieri potest ut pro occisis hominibus satis multas suas ipsius animas praebeat morituras?* i.e. *ut mortem totiens oppetat quot cives capitali supplicio affecerit?* 'how can he offer a sufficient number of his own

lives to die (to pay the forfeit of) in return for those whom he has put to death? See cr. n.

§ 18 l. 69 τῷ i.q. τινί. λυσitelái, 'it avails, it pays'. The full phrase is λύειν τέλη 'to pay dues' and so to rid oneself of liabilities, Soph. Oed. Tyr. 316. Hence λύω is sometimes found in this sense without τέλη as in Eur. Med. 1112, 1362 λύει δ' ἄλγος ἦν σὺ μὴ ἔγγελῆς, Alc. 627 φημι τοιούτους γάμους λύειν βροτοῖσιν. 70 ἀπάγξασθαι (ἀπάγχεσθαι), 'to hang himself'. 71 εὐρίσκω—λυσiteloûn, G. § 280, HA. § 982. τοῦτο—ποιῆσαι sc. ἀπάγξασθαι: see note to iv 5; τοῦτο may also be the subject of λυσiteloûn and ποιῆσαι a limiting infinitive (G. § 261, 1). 72 οὔτε ἔχειν οὔτε καταθέσθαι τὰ κακά, 'neither to retain nor to lay down his troubles'.

CHAPTER VIII

Simonides in reply, after sympathising with Hieron's despondency, undertakes to console him by showing that such consequences do not necessarily attend despotic rule. The despot's power is an instrument for good as well as for evil. By a proper employment of it he may not only avoid being hated, but may even make himself beloved, beyond the measure attainable by any private citizen. Even kind words and petty courtesies are welcomed far more eagerly when they come from a powerful man than from an equal (§ 1—§ 4). Moreover a showy and brilliant exterior seldom fails to fascinate the spectator (§ 5—§ 7).

Hieron replies: 'But despots are obliged by their position to incur unpopularity where private persons need not do so. They must levy taxes for their necessary supplies, punish malefactors, restrain law-breakers, and in case of a sudden outbreak of war they must enforce a strict attention to duty on those in command. Lastly, they must keep up a body-guard of mercenaries—a most oppressive burden to their subjects, who regard it as an instrument of tyranny' (§ 8—§ 10).

- § 1 l. 1 ὑπολαβόν, 'in answer'. The original meaning of ὑπό is 'upwards', hence it expresses resistance 'to a motion'. Ὑπολαμβάνειν is 'to take up' or 'interrupt' a speaker; ὑπακούειν 'to show that one hears' (by answering or obeying). So ὑπομένειν is 'to bear up against', ὑπομῶσα is 'an affidavit to stop proceedings'. See Monro's *Homeric Grammar*, p. 140. τὸ μὲν νῦν—μέντοι, 'although for the present, yet'. Cp. ix 1, Oecon. ii 22, x 49 etc. 2 ἀθύμως ἔχειν πρὸς τὴν τυραννίδα, 'to be out of heart at (with) despotism'. Cp. Hell. iv v 4 ἐν σκότῳ ἀθύμως πρὸς τὸ δέικνον ἐχόντων, Plut. Nic. c. 26, 6 πρὸς τὰς ἐκ θεῶν ἐλπίδας ἀθύμως 19 εἶχον. 4 ἐμποδὼν τούτου scil. τοῦ φιλεῖσθαι ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων. Cp. Cyr. ii iv 23 ἀποσοβοῦντες ἂν ἐμποδὼν γίγνουντο τοῦ (v. l. τὸ) μὴ ὁρᾶν αὐτοῦς, viii v 24 ἐμποδὼν ἀλλήλοις πολλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἔσσεσθε. 5 ἔχειν μοι δοκῶ, *videor mihi posse*. 6 οὐδέν, adv. 'not at all', cf. i 28. ἀποκωλύει (scil. τὸν δρχοντα) τοῦ φιλεῖσθαι, G. § 174, HA. § 748. 7 πλεονεκτεῖ γὰρ τῆς ἰδιωτείας, 'he has the *advantage* over private life'. Cp. Plat. Legg. iii p. 696 A καὶ ἰδιωτεῖα καὶ βασιλεία, Rep. x 618 d ἰδιωτεῖαι καὶ ἀρχαί. Lucian (de conscr. hist. c. 27) uses it in the sense of *inscitia*. The γὰρ serves to emphasize πλεονεκτεῖ.

§ 2 l. 8 αὐτό, the anticipatory accusative, cf. i 38, v 2, Anab. iv v 34 τὴν ὁδὸν ἐφραζεν ἢ εἴη for ἐφραζεν ἢ εἴη ἡ ὁδός, Oecon. xix 14 τὸ δσπρακον—ἀγροεῖς—πῶς ἂν καταθελῆς. ἐκεῖνο, in reference to what follows. 9 εἰ, 'whether', iii 1.

10 χαρίζεσθαι πλείω, 'to grant more favours': see note to vii 2. ἂν ποιῶσιν for ἐὰν π. 12 ἀπό, 'by means of', iv 10.

13 σοί, the so-called ethical dative, superfluous as to the general sense, but imparting a lively and familiar tone to the sentence. So Shakesp. *Merry W. of W.* 1, 4, 97 'I'll do you your master what good I can', *Much Ado* 2, 3, 116 'she will sit you'. G. § 184, 3 Note 6, HA. § 770.

§ 3 l. 14 προσειπάτω, 'suppose him to address'. The imperative is here used to denote a supposition, where something is supposed to be true for argument's sake.

G. MT. § 84 Note 4. The Latin imperative is frequently thus used by Cic. as in Cat. mai. 11, 34 *ne sint in senectute vires*, 'let us assume that age has no strength', de off. iii 13, 54 *vendat aedes vir bonus*, i.e. 'suppose he has for sale'. 16 *πρόσρησιν*: Pollux 5, 137 *ἀσπασμόν*. 17 *ἔθι δὲ, age, porro*, 'now then', 'again', a form of transition, chiefly in dialogue and usually followed by 2nd person imper. or 1st person subj.

ἐπαινεσάντων ἀμφοτέροι τὸν αὐτόν, 'supposing them both to praise the same man'. Cobet was the first to see that *ἐπαινεσάντων* is the imperative for *ἐπαινεσάτωσαν*, and to restore *ἀμφοτέροι* for *ἀμφοτέρων* into which it was altered by some copyist to suit what he supposed was a participle. 18 *ἐκινεῖσθαι εἰς εὐφροσύνην*, *suppetere, valere ad laetitiam*, 'satisfies in respect of causing joy'. Cp. Plat. Protag. p. 311 *οὐδ' ἄν... ἐκινῇται τὰ ἡμέτερα χρήματα*. 19 *θύσας τιμησάτω ἑκάτερος*, 'let each of the two, when he offers sacrifice, honour (the same man)', i.e. with an invitation to the post-sacrificial entertainment. Sacrifices are enumerated by Aristotle Ethic. viii 9 and Thucydides ii 38 among the chief means of social enjoyment, as they were mostly accompanied by the entertainments of friends and relations. Cf. Mem. ii

iii 11 *λέγε δὴ μοι, ἔφη, εἰ τινα τῶν γνωρίμων βούλοιο κατεργάσασθαι, ὁπότε θύοι, καλεῖν σε ἐπὶ δείπνον, τί ἂν ποιήσῃς*; ib. ii iii 11 *ὁπότε θύοι, ἐκάλει (τοῦτον)*, Plut. Themist. 5, 1, l. 19 with my note. 20 *ἄν—τυγχάνειν*, i 3, x 3, G. § 211, HA. § 964 a.

§ 4 l. 21 *κάμνοντα, aegrotantem*. 22 *σαφές* scil. *ἐστὶ αἱ ὑπὸ τῶν δυνατωτάτων θεραπείαι*, 'kind offices bestowed by those who are most powerful', see n. to vii 6. 23 *ἐμποιοῦσιν* 'produce in them' scil. *τοῖς θεραπευθεῖσι*. 24 *δόντων τὰ ἴσα*, 'suppose they (i.e. *ὁ τε ἄρχων καὶ ὁ ἰδιώτης*) make him equal presents'. 25 *αἱ ἡμίσειαι χάριτες*, 'favours of half the value'. 26 *πλέον—δύνανται*, *plus valent*. *δλον τὸ δῶρημα*, G. § 142, 4 Note 5, HA. 672 a.

§ 5 l. 28 *συμπαρέπεσθαι, comitari*, 'to go along with', 'attend on': Cyr. ii i 23 *καὶ ἄλλαι τιμαὶ αἱ πρέπουσαι ἐκάστοις συμπαρείποντο*, Plat. Legg. ii p. 667 *β' ὅσοι συμπαρέπεται*

τις χάρις. ἀνδρὶ ἄρχοντι: ἀνὴρ is frequently used appositively with words denoting station or condition. Cp. viii 10, ix 3, xi 1 and see HA. § 625. μὴ—δτι—ποῦς—ἀλλὰ καὶ—θεώμεθα, 'not only does it (authority) add lustre to the appearance of him who is invested with it, but we look at this same man with greater pleasure when he is in authority than when he is only a private person'. With ποιεῖ we must supply the subject τὸ ἄρχειν, implied in ἀνδρὶ ἄρχοντι. Cf. Oecon. v 3, xx 3, xxi 12. μὴ ὅτι, = 'not only', when followed as here by ἀλλὰ καὶ or simply ἀλλὰ, i.e. not supposing us to say. Cf. Plato Apol. p. 40 D μὴ δτι ἰδιώτην τινά, ἀλλὰ τὸν μέγαν βασιλέα. When ἀλλ' οὐδέ=ne—quidem follows, it means 'not only not', like the Latin *non modo* when followed by *sed ne—quidem*. Where μὴ δτι ushers in the second of two clauses, of which the first is negative, it means *nedum* 'much less'. 31 διαλεγόμενοι ἀγαλλόμεθα, G. § 279, 1, HA. § 983. Cp. Agesil. v 3 πονῶν ἡγάλλετο, Hell. vi v 48 (ed. Cobet) ἀγαλλόμεθα συναγορεύοντες ἀνδράσιν ἀγαθοῖς. τοῖς προτεμνημένοις sc. ἡμῶν, 'our superiors in rank'. 32 τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ ἴσου ἡμῖν οὔσι, 'those who are on the same level with us'.

§ 7 l. 33 ὁπότε, *quandoquidem*, cp. iv 2, Symp. ii 12 καὶ ἡ ἀνδρεία διδακτόν, ὁπότε αὐτῇ—οὕτω τολμηρῶς εἰς τὰ ξίφη ἵεται, 20 Ages. viii 5. γε μὴν: see n. to x 5. 35 πολλαπλάσια scil. τῶν ἰδιωτῶν. 36 ἔχητε, *positis*, l. 5. 37 καὶ πολὺ: see n. to ii 10.

§ 8 l. 39 ἐξ ὧν ἀπεχθάνονται—πλείω—πραγματεῖσθαι, 'to engage in many more of the transactions, because of which men incur hatred'.

§ 9 l. 41 πρακτέον μὲν γε χρήματα sc. ἐστὶ, 'thus, for one thing, we must exact money'. Buttmann on Dem. Mid. § 21 f. observes on μὲν γε:—*cum quis uno argumento vel exemplo aliquid probat, potest hoc ut sufficiens adferre; quod fit particula γάρ: potest etiam significare plura quidem posse desiderari sed hoc unum satis grave esse; quod fit addito γέ, 'certe saltem'*. He observes also that in many passages editors

have substituted μέν γάρ for μέν γε; as Weiske would in the present passage. Cf. Arist. Nub. 1382, Av. 1608, Lys. 589, Xen. Cyr. II i 16, II 14, IV III 18, V 29 etc. So μέν γε, answered by δέ, is often used in working out a contrast between two characters. Ridd. l. c. § 158. εἰ μέλλομεν ἔξαι κτλ., 'if we are to have the means of spending upon necessities'. Cf. Oecon. V 15, VII 20, XII 5, Ages. II 25 χρημάτων ἑώρα τὴν πόλιν δεομένην, εἰ μέλλοι σύμμαχόν τινα ἔξειν, Mem. II VI 14 ὥς εἰ μέλλομεν ἀγαθόν τινα κτήσεσθαι φίλον, αὐτοὺς ἡμᾶς δεῖ ἀγαθοὺς γενέσθαι, de re eq. II 2 ταῦτα ὑποδείγματα ἔσται τῷ πωλοδάμῳ ὡς δεῖ ἐπιμεληθῆναι, εἰ μέλλει τὸν μισθὸν ἀπολήψεσθαι. On δαπανᾶν εἰς see X 8, XI 1. 42 ἀναγκαστέον φυλάττειν, 'we must compel (persons) to guard'; the indefinite object being unexpressed. 45 καί—γε: I 17, 22. ὅταν τάχους καιρὸς παρὰσῃ—ἐξορμᾶσθαι, 'whenever the moment for quick action presents itself, to start on a land or naval expedition'. 46 οὐκ ἐπιτρεπτέον τοῖς ῥαδιουργοῦσι scil. ῥαδιουργεῖν, 'he must not let the listless (trierarchs or other officials) have their own way', i.e. he must hurry them up with pressure and fines. Cp. Xen. Cyr. I VI 8 ἐγὼ δὲ οἶμαι τὸν ἄρχοντα οὐ τῷ ῥαδιουργεῖν χρήναι διαφέρειν τῶν ἀρχομένων, ἀλλὰ τῷ προνοεῖν καὶ φιλοπονεῖν. II i 25, VIII IV 5.

§ 10 l. 48 ἀνδρὶ τυράννῳ: see n. to l. 28. τούτου sc. τοῦ φορήματος, 'this burden'. Cf. Cyr. III i 25 οἷον φόρημα (quam grave onus sit) ὁ φόβος. 49 οὐ γὰρ τυράννοισι ἰσοτιμίας—τρέφεσθαι, neque enim tyrannos tam ob parem honorem quam maioris causa hos alere credunt. Schenkli remarks 'regis est id agere, ne quis se potentia opibus honore superet, tyranni autem ut ceteros omnes his rebus antecedit; non ergo, ut eodem quo ceteri cives utatur iure, mercennarii aluntur a tyranno, sed ut maiore quadam potentia utatur, ut ipse dominus sit, ceteri servi'.

CHAPTER IX

Simonides replies: 'If there are some duties which lead to unpopularity, there are others which tend directly to the attainment of popular favour. A despot therefore ought to delegate to others the task of rebuking and punishing, while he administers rewards in person, giving prizes for superior excellence in every department and thus endearing himself to all. Such prizes would provoke a salutary competition in the performance of military duties, in husbandry, commerce and all the arts of peace and public usefulness of every kind. Thus industry would be greatly promoted and there would be a decrease of crime' (§ 1—§ 11).

§ 1 l. 2 ἀλλά is often thus used in quick answers and objections, chiefly in negation. *ὅπως—οὐ—ἐπιμελητέον—οὐ λέγω*, 'I do not assert that we are not to take care of all these matters'. The declarative use of *ὅπως* for *ὡς* or *ὅτι* in indirect quotations is chiefly confined to poetry, see G. § 249, *MT*. § 78. In most of the passages where it is used it may be rendered by *quomodo* 'how'. *Μέν* is correlative to *μέντοι* in l. 3, 'it is true—but'. Cf. viii i. It is so used, (1) when particular emphasis has to be given to the opposition; (2) where *δέ* could not be conveniently used; (3) in expressing opposition to a clause which is itself introduced by *δέ*. 3 *ἐπιμέλειαι*, *studia*, 'duties, concerns': cf. *Oecon.* vii 41. 4 *αἱ μὲν—αἱ δέ* in partitive apposition to *ἐπιμέλειαι*, cp. iii 8, v 1. On the use of the article as a demonstrative pronoun see G. § 143, l. 1. *πρὸς ἐχθρὰν ἄγειν*, 'lead to unpopularity'. Cf. *de Ath. rep.* i 5 ἡ περὶ αὐτοὺς μάλλον ἄγει ἐπὶ τὰ αἰσχρά, *Cyr.* vi ii 31 *ὄψα—ἐπὶ σίτον ἄγει*, i.e. 'create a taste for eating'. *διὰ χαρίτων εἶναι*, *gratae esse*, *ad gratiam conciliandam valere*, 'to be pleasant', 'agreeable', not, as Liddell-Scott translate, 'to be on terms of mutual friendship'.

§ 2 l. 5 τὸ μὲν—αὕτη μὲν—τὸ δὲ—ταῦτα δέ. When the opposition denoted by *μὲν* and *δέ* lies in a relative sentence, and to this a demonstrative reference is annexed

ὅς—οὗτος, μέν and δέ (or one of them) are often put twice, first with the relative, then with the demonstrative, see Buttman Exc. on Demosth. Mid. p. 129. In the same way we find a double μέν with a double δέ in order to bring out more forcibly the parallelism of two clauses. Cf. Oecon. iv 8 οὗτος μέν—τούτοις μέν—οἷς δέ—τούτους δέ. διδάσκειν ἃ ἐστὶ βέλτιστα, ea docere quae optima sunt. ὁ καλλίστα, 'in the best manner', 'most efficiently'. ταῦτα sc. τὰ βέλτιστα. On the emphatic repetition of the demonstrative pronoun αὕτη and l. 10 ταῦτα see on i 17 l. 101.

9 ἀναγκάζειν, 'to treat with severity'. 10 δι' ἀπεχθείας γίνεσθαι, odio esse, 'to be hateful'; cp. Aesch. Pr. V. 120 τὸν πᾶσι θεοῖς δι' ἀπεχθείας ἐλθόντα, so δι' ὀχλὸν γίνεσθαι 'to be troublesome', Arist. Eccl. 888, διὰ φιλίας ἵεναι 'to be friendly', Anab. iii ii 8.

§ 3 l. 11 ἀνδρὶ ἄρχοντι: n. to viii l. 28. The construction is τὸ μὲν κολάζειν δεόμενον ἀνάγκης ('coercion') προστακτέον εἶναι (G. § 281, 1) ἄλλοις (G. § 187) ἀνδρὶ ἄρχοντι (G. § 188, 4), τὸ δὲ ἀποδιδόναι τὰ ἄθλα ποιητέον (εἶναι) δι' αὐτοῦ (i.e. 'without the agency of others'). Cobet, regarding κολάζειν as a gloss, would take τὸ ἀνάγκης δεόμενον together as=πάντα ἐν οἷς βίαν δεῖ προσφέρειν καὶ ἀνάγκην προστιθέναι. See however cr. app.

21 14 μαρτυρεῖ τὰ γινόμενα, 'facts testify'.

§ 4 l. 15 ἡμῖν: see n. on viii 2. 16 ἄθλα προτίθουσιν, 'offers prizes'. Cf. de red. iii 3 εἰ δὲ καὶ τῇ τοῦ ἑμπορίου ἀρχῇ ἄθλα προτιθεῖται τις, ὅστις δικαιοτάτα διαιροῖ τὰ ἀμφιλόγα, Cyr. iv i 18 ἀγῶνας προειπὼν ἐκάστοις καὶ ἄθλα προτιθεὶς δοκεῖ μάλιστα ἂν ποιεῖν εὖ ἀσκεῖσθαι ἕκαστα, Hell. iii iv 16 ἄθλα προσέθηκε ταῖς ὀπλιτικαῖς τάξεσιν, ἥτις ἀρίστα σωματῶν ἔχει, iv ii 5 ἄθλα προσέθηκε ταῖς πόλεσιν ἥτις ἀρίστον στράτευμα πέμπει, Eur. Hel. 42 προὔτεθ' ἐγὼ—ἄθλον—δορός. By ὁ ἄρχων is meant the President of the college of Archons, called ἐπώνυμος not because he was ἐπώνυμος τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ, but because for reasons arising from his official position, his name headed several official lists (Lange Leipziger Studien i p. 169). He had the general superintendence of the greater Dionysia and

of the Thargélia. 17 αὐτοῖς scil. τοὺς χόρους. χορηγοῖς : the χορηγία was one of the so-called ἐγκύκλιοι λειτουργίαι or 'public services required of each citizen in rotation'. The duties of the χορηγοί of whom there were ten, one for each tribe, consisted in providing the choreutae and in paying the expenses of a trainer (χοροδιδάσκαλος) for them, in maintaining them while they were in training, also in paying the expenses of their dresses, crowns and masks. Cf. Oecon. ii 6. 18 ἄλλοις scil. χοροδιδασκάλοις. ἀνάγκην προστιθέναι, 'to apply coercion'; cp. Cyr. ii iv 12 ἀνάγκην αὐτῷ προσθεῖναι, de rep. Lac. x 7 ἐπέθηκε τὴν ἀνυπόστατον ἀνάγκην. 19 εὐθύς, 'obviously', 'as appears at once'; cp. ii 8. τὸ ἐπίχαρι, 'the agreeable part'; Cyr. i iv 4 ἐν ταῖς συνουσίαις πάνπαν ἐπίχαρις, Anab. ii vi 12 τὸ ἐπίχαρι οὐκ εἶχεν (i.e. *morum suavitatem*) ἀλλ' αἰ χαλεπὸς ἦν καὶ ὤμος. The superlative ἐπιχαριτώτατος occurs in the Oecon. vii 37, and the adverb ἐπιχαρίτως in Apolog. 4. 20 ἐγένετο, gnomic aorist, G. § 205, 2, HA. § 849. τὰ ἀντίτυπα, *contraria*, the reverse of τὸ ἐπίχαρι (cf. Theogn. 1244 ἦθος ἔχων δόλιον, πῖστιος ἀντίτυπον), or *molesta* 'repellent', 'harsh'. It occurs in the sense of 'adverse' in Hell. vi iii 12 ὁρῶ—πολλὰ ἀντίτυπα γιγνόμενα.

§ 5 l. 21 τί κωλύει; *quid obstat quo minus? quidni?* 'what is there to prevent?' 'what reason is there why not?'

τὰλλα τὰ πολιτικά, *cetera civilia*, 'the other municipal affairs'. μὲν γάρ: see note to iii § 7. 22 αἱ πόλεις αἱ μὲν—αἱ δέ, cf. l. 4. 23 κατὰ φυλάς: Attica was divided into ten phylae, Lacedaemon into six morae, Thebes and Argos into lochi (Hell. vi iv 13; vii ii 4). That λόχος may mean 'a union for civil purposes' is evident from Aristotle's Pol. v 8, p. 1309 a, l. 12 κατὰ φρατρίας καὶ λόχους καὶ φυλάς, Dem. de cor. 106 τῶν ἐν τοῖς λόχοις συντελειῶν.

§ 6 l. 25 τούτοις scil. τοῖς μέρεσι. 27 ἀλκῆς τῆς ἐν πολέμῳ, 'for bravery in the field'. This is the third attributive position, the first being τῆς ἐν πολέμῳ ἀλκῆς, the second τῆς ἀλκῆς τῆς ἐν πολέμῳ. The word ἀλκή is one of the many poetical expressions found in Xen. It occurs again in Hell. vi i

12. 28 δικαιοσύνης τῆς ἐν τοῖς συμβολαίοις: cf. the passage from the de red. iii 3 quoted above l. 16. εἰκός (sc. ἐστὶ)

δοκείσθαι, G. § 226, 4.

29 ταῦτα πάντα scil. εὐοπλίαν, εὐταξίαν κτλ.

διὰ φιλονικίαν, 'through competition'.

Below l. 33 διὰ φιλονικίας = φιλονίκως, 'in a spirit of rivalry', ἐντόνως (ἐν, τείνω), *studiose*, 'vigorously', 'zealously'.

§ 7 l. 30 καλ—γε: i § 17. ὅποι δέοι: G. § 233. 31 ὀρεγόμενοι: vii 1. The ἄν must be repeated with εἰσφέρειν.

32 τούτου scil. τοῦ εἰσφέρειν χρήματα. καὶ τὸ πάντων γε χρησιμώτατον—ἐξεργαζομένοις: 'and agriculture itself, which of all (things) is the most useful employment, though it has not been usual to encourage it by means of competition, would make great progress, if prizes were to be offered to those who cultivated the land best by fields or by villages', HA. § 626 b.

34 ἂν ἐπιδοίη, *incrementum caperet*, 'would advance', 'improve'. Thuc. vii 8 καθ' ἡμέραν ἐπιτιδοῦσαν τὴν τῶν πολεμίων ἰσχύν, Plato Hipp. mai. p. 281 D αἱ ἄλλαι τέχναι ἐπιτεδῶκασιν.

36 The order is: τῶν πολιτῶν (G. § 168) τοῖς τρεπομένοις ἐρρωμένους εἰς τοῦτο scil. εἰς τὸ ἐξεργάζεσθαι τὴν γῆν, not εἰς τὸ ἄθλα προτιθέναι κτλ.

37 ἐρρωμένους, 'vigorously', adv. from ἐρρωμένος part. perf. pass. of ῥώννυμι, comp. ἐρρωμενέστερος, superl. ἐρρωμενέστατος. Plutarch Apophth. p. 175 A tells a story of Gelon, Hieron's brother, how ἐξῆγε πολλάκις τοὺς Συρακοσίους ὡς ἐπὶ στρατείαν τὴν φυτεῖαν (i.e. *ad agrorum culturam tamquam in militiam*), ὅπως ἦτε χώρα βελτίων γένηται γεωργουμένη καὶ μὴ χείρους αὐτοὶ σχολάζοντες.

§ 8 l. 39 ἡ σωφροσύνη, *modestia*, 'a sober, law-abiding spirit'.

40 συμπαρομαρτοίη: cf. vi 6. καὶ μῆν, 'and further'. κακουργαί—ἐμφύονται, 'vice seldom springs up amongst those who are actively employed': cf. vii 3.

§ 9 l. 41 εἰ, 'if, as is the case'. 42 τι, *aliquantum*, 'in some appreciable measure'.

τιμώμενος ἂν—ἐμπόρους ἂν πλείους ἀγέροι, 'the bestowing marks of distinction on one who applies himself to it (trade) with the greatest diligence would be the means of increasing the number of traders in proportion' (καὶ). Observe that the ἂν of the principal

verb is here attached to the emphatic word at the opening of the sentence and repeated in immediate connexion with the verb, from which it has been thus removed to a distance: see *G. MT.* § 42, 3 with Note 1 and cp. *Anab.* i iii 19 οὕτως γὰρ καὶ ἐπόμενοι ἂν φίλοι τῷ Κύρῳ καὶ πρόθυμοι ἐποίμεθα καὶ ἀπίωντες ἀσφαλῶς ἂν ἀπίοιμεν, *Oecon.* xvii 13 τῷ οὖν κατιλυθέντι τί ἂν ποιοῦντες δοκοῦσιν ἂν σοι ἐπικουρῆσαι; The participle *τιμώμενος* here takes the place of a protasis = *εἰ τιμῶτο*. *ὁ τοῦτο ποιῶν* sc. *τὸ ἐμπορεύεσθαι, qui mercaturam exercet.*

- 22 44 πρόσδοδόν τινα ἄλυνον, 'some mode of raising revenue which would not be vexatious to his subjects'. 45 *τιμῆσεται*, one of the verbs in which the fut. middle has a passive meaning: others are *λέξομαι, μισήσομαι, στυγήσομαι, ἀλώσομαι, ἄρξομαι, ἐάσομαι, οἰκήσομαι, ἀδικήσομαι, ζημιώσομαι, ἀνιάσομαι, δηλώσομαι, καλοῦμαι, ὀνειδισῶμαι, φθονήσομαι* (xi 15). οὐδ' αὖτη ἂν ἡ σκέψις ἀργοῖτο, 'this sort of speculation also would not be neglected'. Cf. *Cyr.* ii iii 3 οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ἀργεῖται (*neglegitur, infectum relinquitur*) τῶν πρᾶττεσθαι δεομένων.

§ 10 l. 46 ὡς δὲ συνελόντι εἰπεῖν sc. *τινί*, 'to speak concisely', lit. 'for one to say it, bringing the matter to a point'; *G.* § 184, 5, *HA.* § 956. 47 καὶ is to be taken

closely with *κατὰ πάντα*, 'in every department also'. *ὁ ἀγαθὸν τι εἰσηγούμενος*, 'the proposer of any good suggestion'; see n. to i 15 l. 87.

48 ἀτίμητος, 'unrewarded', a word not found elsewhere in *Xen.* For its usual meaning in Attic Greek see *lex.*

49 *ἔργον ποιῆσθαι τὸ σκοπεῖν τι διαθόν*, 'to apply himself diligently (lit. to make it a business) to making some useful discovery'; *τὸ σκοπεῖν* being the object and *ἔργον* the predicate accusative, *HA.* § 726. In this sense *ἔργον ποιῆσθαι* or *ἔχειν* is usually followed by the infinitive alone without *τό*: e.g. *Mem.* ii x 6 *ἔργον εἶχε σκοπεῖν*, *Agasil.* xi 12 *ἀμαυροῦν τὰ τῶν πολέμων ἔργον εἶχεν*, *Plat. Phaedr.* p. 232 *ἔργον τοῦτο ποιουμένων* sc. *ἀκολουθεῖν τοῖς ἐρωμένοις*, *Dio Chrysost.* p. 394 *δ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἔργον πεποιημένων ἐγκωμιάζειν*; or by a participle as in *Cyr.* viii iv 6 *ἔργον ἔχειν δεόμενον τοῦτου καινῶν τοὺς παρόντας* (*enize rogare praesentes ut partem ciborum caperent*). 50 καλῶς

l. 30. **δταν πολλοῖς περὶ τῶν ὠφελίμων μέλη:** for the usual construction πολλοῖς τῶν ὠφελίμων μέλη: cp. Herod. viii 19 κομιδῆς δὲ πέρι τὴν ὥρην αὐτῷ μελήσειν (where τὴν ὥρην is wrongly taken as the subject of μελήσειν by some commentators), Arist. Lys. 502 ὑμῖν δὲ πόθεν περὶ τοῦ πολέμου τῆς τ' εἰρήνης ἐμέλησεν; Plato Alcib. 2, p. 150 D οὗτος ᾧ μέλει περὶ σοῦ. 51 ἀνάγκη sc. ἐστί. εὐρίσκεισθαι scil. τὰ ὠφέλιμα.

§ 11 l. 53 **προτιθεμένων:** the common reading *προτεθειμένων* has been justly condemned by Cobet, since in purely classical Greek *κείμεαι* is the recognised perfect passive of *τίθηναι*. See my n. on Plutarch Themist. xviii 1. 54 **οὐκ ἔστιν,** G. § 28, 3 Note 1, HA. § 480. **ἐμπορεύματα,** *quaestus genera*, 'articles of commerce', commodities. **λυσιτελίστερα,** *quae facilius comparentur*, 'that cost less'. Cf. de red. iv 30. 55 **ἀθλων,** G. 178, HA. § 746. 57 **μικρὰ δῶλα,** in reference to the simple prizes which were given to the winners at the great games, a garland of wild olive or parsley. 58 **ἐξάγεται,** 'call forth', 'elicit', not as Liddell-Scott translate 'bring on', 'entail'. Cf. Cyr. ii ii 15 ἐκ γε σοῦ πῦρ, οἶμαι, ῥῶον ἂν τις ἐκ-τρῖψειεν ἢ γέλωτα ἐξαγάγοιτο ('provoke', 'excite'). See my note on the passage.

CHAPTER X

Hieron asks Simonides whether he can recommend him any means of avoiding the unpopularity due to the employment of foreign mercenaries as a body guard (§ 1).

Simonides shows how they may be so handled and disciplined as to afford defence against foreign attack, to ensure for the citizens undisturbed leisure in their own private affairs, to protect and befriend the honest man, and to use force only against criminals. If thus employed, such mercenaries, instead of being hated, would be welcome companions, and the citizens would gladly furnish contributions for their support (§ 2—§ 8).

§ 1 l. 3 **ἔχεις τι εἰπεῖν ὥς μὴ μισεῖσθαι δι' αὐτούς;** *num proferre quid poteris, quod efficere possit, ut invisi non simus ob*

eos (*mercennarios milites*)? The indefinite subject of the infinitive is unexpressed, HA. § 942. On the use of *ὥς* in the sense of *ὥστε* consecutive, see Index to my *Cyrop.* i p. 354 b.

4 *κτησάμενος*: G. § 226, 1, HA. § 969 d. 5 *οὐδέν*, 'not at all', the quantitative accusative, as the measure of the degree of the act or process, cf. i 23.

§ 2 l. 6 *ναὶ μὲν Δία*: see n. to i. 13. *μὲν οὖν*, *immo vero*, 'nay rather', for one thing (*μὲν*) decidedly (*οὖν*): see n. on Oecon. vii 37. 7 *ἐν ἀνθρώποις τισὶν ἐγγίγνεται—εἶναι*, 'it is natural to some men to be etc.' Cf. Eur. Iph. Aul. 1244 *ἀσθημά τι | κἄν νηπίος γε τῶν κακῶν ἐγγίγνεται*.

8 *δοῦν*, G. § 188, 2, HA. § 781 a; *μᾶλλον* is to be understood with the predicate adjective *ἐκπλεα* from the correlative clause. So in Latin, e.g. Tac. Ann. i 57 *barbaris, quanto quis audacia promptus, tanto magis fidus rebusque motis potior habetur*; iii 46 *quanto pecunia dites, tanto magis imbelles*.

9 *ὑβριστοτέρους*: comp. of *ὑβριστος* (not of *ὑβριστής*). The word occurs again in Cyr. v v 41; also in Herod. iii 81 and Plato legg. 641 c.

§ 3 l. 9 *τοὺς—τοιούτους*, 'such men as these'. The article is used because the notion of a class is rendered prominent.

10 *ἂν σωφρονίζοι*, 'would sober down, bring to their senses'. Cp. Cyr. iii i 20. *ὁ ἀπὸ τῶν δορυφόρων φόβος*:

Cyr. i i 5 *τῷ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ φόβῳ*, iii iii 53 *τοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων φόβου*.

12 *ἂν δοκεῖς—παρασχεῖν*: the *ἂν* is anticipated hyperbatically as often with *οἶμαι* etc.; cf. i 3. Translate: 'as for the respectable part of the community, there is nothing, it seems to me, by means of which you might confer so great services on them as by the troops kept in your pay'. For the meaning of *καλὸς κάγαθός* see Oecon. vi 11 ff. and for *ἀπό*, 'by means of', cf. xi 1 note.

§ 4 l. 14 *φύλακας*: see note to ix 10 l. 49.

23, 15 *δεσπόται*, 'masters' of slaves. *ὑπὸ τῶν δούλων*

ἀπέθανον: see note to vii 8. 16 The order is *εἰ οὖν τοῦτ'*

εἴη πρῶτον ἐν τῶν προστεταγμένων. 17 *ὥς ὄντας*:

for the case cf. note to ii 8 l. 39. 18 *ἂν τι τοιοῦτον*

αἰσθάνωνται, 'should they perceive any thing of the kind', i.e. any conspiracy of slaves against their masters. 19 γίνονται δέ που κτλ., *existunt autem, opinor, malefici*, 'and, as every one knows, criminals are found in every community'. 20 εἰ οὖν—εἰεν τεταγμένοι, a resumption of the first protasis, occasioned by the parenthetic clause γίνονται—ἐν πόλεσιν. 21 καὶ τούτους scil. τοὺς πολίτας, not τοὺς κακοῦργους, as the καὶ alone indicates. καὶ τοῦτο, i 8, vii 2 note. 22 ἂν εἰδεῖεν—ώφελούμενοι, G. § 280, § 136 Note 4, H.A. § 982. αὐτῶν of course refers to τῶν μισθοφόρων.

§ 5 l. 22 πρὸς δὲ τούτοις, 'in addition to this'; G. p. 240, 6 (2). 23 κτήνεσιν (κτάομαι), 'cattle', regarded as property. 24 οὗτοι scil. οἱ μισθοφόροι. 25 ὁμοίως μὲν—ὁμοίως δέ: i 5 note. 26 τοῖς ἀνὰ τὴν χώραν, 'those all over the country', i.e. belonging to others. γε μὴν, 'moreover', is little more than a stronger form of δέ.

The history of the particle μὴν, both singly and in combination with other particles, deserves close investigation. With γε, καὶ and ἀλλά it serves most frequently to introduce something new or deserving special attention, or in connecting the second part of a syllogism with the first. It sometimes, however, has an adversative force. In old Attic prose it is rarely found, seldom in Andokides, only five times in Antiphon, nine times in Thucydides (always in combination with καὶ or οὐ). In later Greek writers, Lysias, Isokrates, Xenophon, ἀλλά μὴν is common enough. There is no instance, however, in the two oldest speeches of Lysias, XII (or. contra Eratosthenem) and XIII (or. c. Agoratum). In the pseudo-tetralogy of Antiphon I γ § 5, we find οὐδὲ μὴν, and ἀλλά μὴν in the speech of the Pseudo-Andokides against Alkibiades. Aristophanes uses καὶ μὴν seventy-eight times, γε μὴν four times (Eq. 233, Nub. 631, 823, Lys. 144). οὐ μὴν Nub. 53, Tagen. fr. 7, Vesp. 268, Pac. 41, οὐδὲ μὴν Vesp. 480, Ran. 283, Eccl. 1075, 1085, Plut. 373, ἀλλά μὴν Av. 385, Ran. 258, and in the Megarian's speech, Ach. 766, 771. Μὴν does not occur in any combination in the *Kynegetikos*, nor in the first part of the *Hellenika* I i 1—II iii 10. In the *Oekonomikos*, οὐδὲ μὴν is found only once, and ἀλλά μὴν only twice; γε μὴν is very common in Xenophon, with whom it is not much more than a stronger δέ: it is found in the *Hieron*, *Symposion*, *Hellenika* II iii 11—V i, *Anabasis* (I ix 16, 20, V vii 23, VII vi 15, 41, vii 32) and *Cyropaedia*. It occurs six times in the *Memorabilia* (I iv 5, vi 6, III vi 12, viii 10, ix 6, xi 10), while ἀλλά μὴν is found twenty-eight times, οὐδὲ μὴν four times, and καὶ μὴν twenty-six times. In the *Symposion* ἀλλά μὴν is used four times, καὶ μὴν nine times, γε μὴν thirteen times. In the *Symposion* again μὴν is found at the end of a question, iii 13; iv 55 ἐπὶ τῷ μὴν; 4, 23 ἀλλὰ πότε μὴν; and so in the *Cyropaedia* I vi 28 πῶς μὴν; II ii 11

ἀλλὰ τί μὴν βουλόμενοι; III i 41 ἀλλὰ τίνα μὴν; VII iv 10 τίνος μὴν ἔνεκα; Hell. VI iii 13 τί μὴν ἤκομεν; In the third part of the *Hellenika*, v ii—VII, in the *de vectigalibus*, the *de re equestri*, the *hipparchikos*, the *Agesilaos*, the *Lac. resp.* γε μὴν is very common, in the *de re equestri* it is found as many as forty times, whereas καὶ μὴν occurs only four times, i 7, 9, 11, v 4, μήτε μὴν only once, ix 11. But the attempt to found independent conclusions on these statistics, exhibiting the frequency or rarity of the occurrence of μὴν either singly or in combination with other particles, as to the date of a particular writing—as has been attempted by Dittenberger (*Hermes* Vol. xiv) in the case of the Platonic dialogues—has been shown by Dr Hartmann (*Analecta Xenophontea* p. 35—p. 54) to lead to such curious and unsatisfactory results, that no reliance can be placed on them.

27 σχολήν—ἐπιμελίσθαι, G. § 261, 1, HA. § 952. 28 τὰ ἐπίκαιρα, *loca opportuna*, 'advantageous positions'. Cf. Oecon. xx 9.

§ 6 l. 30 ἑσπινάλας: an Ionic word, found several times in Xen. ἐτοιμότεροι scil. εἰσίν. 32 ἀλλὰ μὴν: iv 1, above l. 26. 35 εἰκός sc. ἐστὶ.

§ 7 l. 35 ἀγχιτέρμονας, a poetical word. 36 διὰ τοὺς αἰὲν ὄπλοις ὄντας, 'because of standing armies'. 37 καὶ εἰρήνης: It is difficult to render the force of καὶ by any single word, but it is generally identical with the emphasis.

40 οὗτοι sc. οἱ μισθοφόροι. κακὸν οὐδὲν ποιοῦσι τὸν μηδὲν ἀδικοῦντα, G. § 165, § 283, 4, HA. § 1025 a.

42 καλῶνσι scil. κακουργεῖν. 43 τῶν πολιτῶν, G. § 177.

44 ἀνάγκη scil. ἐστὶ, HA. § 611 a. 45 δαπανᾷν sc. τοὺς

24 πολιτας. εἰς τούτους, viii 9. 45 ἥδιστα, *libentissime*. γούν, see note to ii 8. ἐπὶ μέλοσι τούτων, 'for objects of less moment than these'.

CHAPTER XI

A despot should also not grudge the employment of his own private means for the public service, but he ought to consider and have at heart the general prosperity rather than his own private advantage (§ 1—§ 5).

His proper field of competition is not with private persons but with the rulers of other states, and the summit of his am-

bition should be to make his own the most prosperous. By so doing he will win the gratitude, sympathy and willing obedience of his own subjects, and become the object of general admiration not only to them but to other communities (§ 6—§ 13).

In conclusion, Simonides urges Hieron to carry out in practice the hints he has given, and assures him that by a wise and philanthropic exercise of his power he will find his subjects obeying him willingly, and caring for him of their own accord, and obtain the finest and most enviable of all acquisitions, security, prosperity and happiness unmarred by jealousy (§ 14—§ 15).

§ 1 l. 1 ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων—δαπανᾶν: On the use of ἀπὸ to denote the means or instrument see Kühner on Mem. i ii 14, and cf. Anab. i i 9 στράτευμα συνέλεξεν ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν χρημάτων, Plut. Themist. iv 2, l. 23 ἑκατὸν ἀπὸ τῶν χρημάτων ἐκείνων ἐποιήθησαν τριήρεις, Oec. iii 1 τοὺς ἀπὸ πολλοῦ ἀργυρίου οἰκίας ἀχρήστους οἰκοδομοῦντας. 2 εἰς τὸ κοινὸν ἀγαθόν: see n. on x 8. 4 εἰς τὸ δέον τελεῖσθαι: *utiliter expendi*. Anab. i iii 8 ἔλεγε θαρρεῖν ὡς καταστησομένων τούτων εἰς τὸ δέον, i.e. 'since this matter would be settled in the right way', Arist. Nub. 859 ὥσπερ Περικλῆς εἰς τὸ δέον ἀπώλεσα (sc. τὰς ἐμβάδας). 5 ἀνδρὶ τυράννῃ: see note on viii 10.

§ 2 l. 5 καθ' ἐν ἑκαστον, 'each point in detail'. Cf. Ages. vii 1 καθ' ἐν μὲν ἑκαστον μακρὸν ἂν εἴη γράφειν, Dem. de Cor. p. 230, 20 βούλομαι δὲ καθ' ἐν ἑκαστον αὐτῶν ἐξετάσαι, Mid. c. 39 ὥστε δύνασθαι καθ' ἕνα ὑμῶν ἑκαστον ἀποστρεῖν: καθ' ἐν may either be taken with ἑκαστον, or adverbially 'one by one'. Hertlein on Cyr. i vi 22 quotes the following passages in which there is no room for doubt: Xen. Hell. i vii 23 κρωέσθωσαν οἱ ἄνδρες κατὰ ἕνα ἑκαστον, Lysias 8, 19 καθ' ἕνα ἑκαστον ὑμῶν αὐτοῖς ἀπεχθήσεσθε, Demosth. 44, 4 τὰς μαρτυρίας καθ' ἐν ἑκαστον παρέξομαι. 6 οἰκίαν πρῶτον ἦ: πότερον, when ἦ follows in the alternative question, is often omitted, Cyr. iii i 12. ὑπερβαλλούσῃ δαπάνῃ, 'with lavish cost' 8 κόσμον ἂν σοι παρέχεν, 'would

bring you credit'. 9 παραστάσι, *columnis*, 'pilasters'. 'παραστάδες (παραστάς) were square pilasters, used as a termination to the side walls of a temple, when those side walls are projected beyond the face of the *cella* or main body of the building. As one of these pilasters is required on each side to form a corresponding support, the word is always used in the plural [in Eur. *Androm.* 1122 we have παραστάδες κρεμαστά τεύχη πασσάλων καθαράδας, *Ed.*]; and thus a temple is said to be *in antis* or ἐν παραστάσι (Vitruv. *iii* ii 2) when the porch is formed by the projection of the side walls, terminated as described by two square pilasters, which have two columns between them'. Rich's *illustr. Comp. etc.* p. 38 b. Schneider after Ernesti would read πασάδσι, 'porticoes'.

§ 3 l. 11 ἐκπαγλοτάτοις, 'most magnificent, awe-inspiring', a poet. word, which occurs only in this passage in prose. Cobet *N. L.* p. 549 says *vehementer de mendo suspecta haec scriptura est et perridicula mihi quidem videtur esse. Quae sunt enim δπλα δεινότερα, quae? De armis λαμπρότατα aut simile quid in tali re recte dicitur, sed nihil statuere licet in libris tam male habitis et omni mendorum genere inquinatis.* κατακεκοσμημένος = ἐλ κατακεκοσμημένος

εἷης, G. § 226, 1, HA. § 902. 13 οὔσης = ἐλ εἷη: σοι dative of the possessor, G. § 184, 4, HA. § 768.

§ 4 l. 14 τὰ σὰ ἴδια, 'your own private capital'. I prefer this the reading of some mss to the ordinary τὰ σὰ ἰδίᾳ. See above x 5 τοῖς σοῖς ἰδίοις. ἐλ ἐνεργὰ ἔχους, 'if you were to keep employed, put out to interest'. Cf. Dem. c. Aphob. 1 p. 815, 15 δεῖ καθ' ἕκαστον ὑμᾶς ἀκοῦσαι τὰ τ' ἐνεργὰ ('productive') αὐτῶν καὶ ὅσα ἦν ἀργά.

§ 5 l. 18 ἄρματοτροφίαν, in definitive apposition to ἐπιτήδευμα, HA. § 624 c. The order is: ποτέρως δοκεῖς ἐπιτήδευμα τὸ νομιζόμενον εἶναι κάλλιστον καὶ μεγαλοπρεπέστατον πάντων, ἄρματοτροφίαν, ἃν κοσμεῖν σε μάλλον.

19 ἐλ αὐτοῖς—πέμπους. On the victories of Hieron in the chariot races celebrated by Pindar see *Intro.* πλείστα τῶν Ἑλλήνων: HA. § 650. 20 ἄρματα, equos iugales.

21 πλείστοι μὲν—πλείστοι δέ, see n. on i 5.

22 νικᾶν, 'to be superior to others'. 23 ἀρετῇ, 'excellence', cf. ii 2.

§ 9 l. 24 ἐγὼ μὲν, i 7. 25 οὐδὲ προσήκειν κτλ., 'that it is not even becoming for a despot to enter the lists with private persons'. 26 νικῶν, i.q. *ελ νικῶντος*. 27 φθονοῖο: the *ἀν* must be repeated from preceding clause. ἀπὸ πολλῶν οἴκων, 'by means of several estates', 'from the substance of many families', the means being considered as the starting point, cf. l. 1. τὰς δαπάνας, G. § 141 Note 2. 28 νικῶμενος, i.q. *ελ νικῶ*. πάντων μάλιστα: see note to iii 6.

25 § 7 l. 30 ὧν (sc. πόλεων). 32 εὖ ἔσει νικῶν, see cr. n.

33 ἐν ἀνθρώποις, 'in the world'. Cobet would read with Schneider and Heindorf τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις as below l. 69, Cyr. ii ii 17 οὐδὲν ἀνίσωτερον νομίζω τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις εἶναι τοῦ τῶν ἰσῶν τόν τε κακὸν καὶ τὸν ἀγαθὸν ἀξιοῦσθαι, Agesil. viii 6 πᾶν τὸ ἐν ἀνθρώποις χρυσίον, Mem. ii iii 14 πάντα τὰ ἐν ἀνθρώποις φίλτρα; but cp. on the other hand Cyr. vii ii 28 ἦν ἐφίλου μάλιστα ἀνθρώπων, Plat. Lys. p. 211 ε καὶ βουλομένη *ἀν* μοι φίλον ἀγαθὸν γενέσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν ἀριστον ἐν ἀνθρώποις δρῦντα ἢ ἀλεκτρύονα, de legg. i p. 636 ε κάλλιστ' ἀνθρώπων, Theaet. p. 148 β ἀριστα γ' ἀνθρώπων.

§ 8 l. 34 εὐθύς, 'at the very outset'. κατεργασμένος *ἀν* εἰς κτλ., 'you will have secured at once the love of your subjects, which is the very object of your ambition'. 37 ὁ ἀνακηρύττων: i 15. The allusion is to the proclamation by the herald of the victors in the games.

§ 9 l. 38 περίβλεπτος, see note to vii 2. 41 παρὰ πᾶσιν, *apud omnes*.

§ 10 l. 41 ἐξείη μὲν—ἐξείη δέ: see on l. 21. 42 ἔνεκεν ἀσφαλείας, 'so far as security is concerned', 'if security be all'. Cyr. iii ii 30 ἔξεσται ἡμῖν ἐκείνου ἔνεκα πρὸς τὸ ἡμέτερον συμφέρον πάντα τίθεσθαι, de red. iii 1 ὅπου ἔστιν εἰσορμηθέντας ἀδεῶς ἔνεκα χειμῶνος ἀναπαύεσθαι, Isocr. xv 163 ἀσφαλῶς *ἀν* ἔξω ἔνεκά γε τῶν συκοφαντῶν. The form *ἐνεκεν* is dialectic.

According to Meisterhans (*Grammatik der Attischen Inschriften* p. 103—4) in inscriptions from 400—300 B.C. the proportion of the frequency of *ἐνεκα* : *ἐνεκεν* = 28 : 1. From 200—100 B.C. *ἐνεκα* : *ἐνεκεν* = 4 : 12.

θεωρήσονται i.e. *vel ludos vel alia θεάματα*; *Anab.* v iii 7 ἀφικνεῖται Μεγάβυζος εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν θεωρήσων, i.e. *ludos spectaturus*. There is a reference in this remark to those in i 11, 12, 13.

43 αὐτοῦ μένONTI τοῦτο πράττειν, 'to stay at home and do so', i.e. *θεωρεῖν*. αὐτοῦ = οἴκοι, *domi*, lit. 'in the selfsame spot where you are'.

44 τῶν βουλομένων: there is no *μέν*, because the sentence following has *δέ καί* 'and also'.

45 ἐπιδεικνύναί εἰ τίς τι—ἔχοι, 'to exhibit whatever he may have (to exhibit) that is either ingenious, beautiful, or useful'. εἰ τίς τι = *si quis quid* i.e. *quodcumque quis*: cf. v i 2. On the assimilated optative *ἔχοι* see G. § 23, 5, 1.

§ 11 l. 47 πᾶς ὁ μὲν παρών—ὁ δὲ ἀπών, 'every one admitted to your presence would be devoted to your person, and every one at a distance would be desirous of seeing you'. On the partitive apposition see v i 5. 48 ὥστε, *quamobrem*, marks a strong conclusion as in iv 8.

50 ἀλλ' ἄλλοις παρέχοις scil. *ἀν φόβον*.

§ 12 l. 50 ἐκόντας sc. *πειθομένους*, G. § 138 N. 7, 'your subjects would pay you a voluntary obedience'.

51 σοῦ προνοούντας, G. § 177. 52 θεῶ, present opt. 2nd pers. sing. from *θεᾶσθαι*.

53 καὶ προθύμους 'and that too, zealous'. καί = καὶ ταῦτα, see Schaefer on Gregor. Cor. p. 987 n.

54 πολλῶν μὲν ἀξιούμενος: the *μέν* is transposed; it belongs properly to *ἀξιούμενος*. See note on i 9.

55 ὅτῳ = ᾧτινι. εὐμενέι: predicate adjective, 'never at a loss for some friend to share them with'.

§ 13 l. 58 γέ μῃν, 'and further'. See n. to x 5. θησαυρούς, 'as treasures'. For *πλούτους* cp. *Plat. Rep.* vi p. 495 A, p. 619 A ὑπὸ πλούτων τε καὶ τῶν τοιούτων κακῶν, p. 618 B πλούτοις καὶ πενίαις, *Gorg.* p. 523 C γένη καὶ πλούτους.

26 59 ἀλλὰ, in exhortations = 'then'. 60 θαρρῶν, *confident*, 'without hesitation'. Cf. *HA.* 968 A, *Cyr.* ii ii 15 εἰς τοὺς πολεμικοὺς θαρρῶν δαπάνῃσεις.

61 σπαντῶ—περὶ αὐτῶν.

'you will win', lit. 'attach to yourself', Mem. II vi 13 περιάψας τι ἀγαθὸν αὐτῇ (τῇ πόλει), Cyr. I v 9 νομίζοντες μεγάλας τιμὰς καὶ αὐτοῖς καὶ τῇ πόλει περιάψειν. But the word is generally used in a bad sense with words denoting discredit etc., as in Plat. Apol. p. 35 A, ἀσχύνην τῇ πόλει περιάπτειν, Arist. Plut. 590 πολὺ τῆς πενίας πρᾶγμα' ἀσχυὸν ζητεῖς αὐτῷ περιάψαι. 62 κτῶ δὲ αὐτῇ συμμαχοῦς: Weiske and Breitenbach think that a sentence is wanting after this to complete the parallelism; the latter suggests σαυτῷ γὰρ ἐξεῖς συμμαχοῦντας, 'for you will thus gain supporters of your own power'.

§ 14 l. 63 νόμιζε οἶκον, G. § 166. 65 ὅτι περ, i. q. ταὐτὸ δ, 'the very thing which', 'the same thing as'; always in neuter. So δσαπερ *quemadmodum*, Cyr. I v 12 νυκτὶ...δσαπερ οἱ ἄλλοι ἡμέρα δύναισθ' ἀν χρησθαι, λιμῷ δὲ δσαπερ δψψ διαχρήσθε, Hellen. VI i 15 ἱκανὸς ἐστὶ καὶ νυκτὶ δσαπερ ἡμέρα χρησθαι, Ages. VI 6. 66 νικᾶν εὖ ποιῶν, 'to surpass them in acts of beneficence'.

§ 15 l. 66 εἰν κρατῆς τοὺς φίλους, 'if you get firm hold (secure the attachment) of your friends'. 67 οὐ μὴ δύνωνται, 'they will not be able', G. § 257, HA. § 1032. Dindorf and Cobet (p. 567) require δυνήσονται, on the ground that οὐ μὴ can only be used with future indicative or aorist subjunctive, not with the present subjunctive. But δύναμαι and εἰμι seem to form exceptions to this rule, see G. MT. § 89, 1, § 89, 2 Rem. 2. 68 καὶν for καὶ ἐάν. 69 εὖ ἴσθι is inserted in the sentence without grammatical connexion to denote an assurance, just as αἰεὶ is inserted with a question, and δοκῶ, δοκεῖ μοι, to denote the thing said as conjecture or opinion. Cf. above VII 1, Oecon. x 13: εὖ ἴστε Hell. v i 14; III v 11; Cobet would read εὖ ἴσθ' ὅτι. τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις, see note to l. 33. 70 κεκτηίσει, 'you will become possessed of'. εὐδαιμονῶν οὐ φθονήσει, 'you will be happy and yet un-envied'. The common reading is φθονήσῃ, a form of later Greek, which, as Cobet remarks, copyists were fond of substituting for the genuine. See above ix 9.

CRITICAL APPENDIX

APPENDIX ON THE TEXT

A. General Remarks

MANUSCRIPTS

It is a subject of regret and not a little remarkable, considering the popularity of Xenophon, that we have no very ancient good mss of his works¹, of the *Hieron* in particular²: the best and earliest is not older than the xiith Century.

Since the publication of my first edition, a fresh collation of fourteen mss of the *Hieron*, made by or for Professor C.

¹ Cf. Madvig *Adversaria critica* I p. 335: 'omnium Xenophontis operum codices fere satis recentes sunt et in orationis et sententiarum forma facile currenti tamen mendis non ita raro interpolatione teotis depravati, valde antiqui et integritate auctoritateque praestantes nulli, etsi in aliis operibus unus et alter minus mendorum et in mendis plura vestigia veri habet'.

² Cf. Cobet *Novae Lectiones* p. 547 sq. 'In nullo alio libro Xenophontis, si *Rempublicam Atheniensium* et *Lacedaemoniorum* exceperis, scribae peius grassati sunt quam in *Hierone*, qui passim pessimis exemplis corruptus et interpolatus in Codicibus perexigui pretii circumfertur. Fieri potest ut aliquando meliores libri in Italia adhuc latentes excutiantur et sic pars mendorum tollatur. Nunc quam vehementer corrupta sint plerumque et inter legendum facili negotio cognoscitur, si quis hoc agit et quam ista et ab Attico nitore et a Xenophontea scribendi venustate abhorreant diuturna Atticorum et Xenophontis lectione et meditatione agnoscere et sentire didicit. Idem animadvertet bonam partem mendosarum lectionum sic esse comparatam, ut Criticorum acumine et sollertia in integrum restitui nequeat: non enim *ἐπιτολῆς* sunt et leviora vulnera a scribarum oscitantia, ut fere fit, profecta, sed *ὑποῦλα* scilicet temeritate et prava correctorum sedulitate penitus inflicta. Interciderunt subinde complura, alia perperam adhaeserunt, suntque multa menda huiusmodi ut fraudem subesse perspicuum sit, sed quae sit genuina et sana scriptura, quae ipsa Xenophontis manus sit, etiam harum rerum intelligentibus evidenter demonstrari non possit'.

Gustavus Sauppe *de Xen. vita et scriptis Comm.* (Opp. Vol. I p. xvi): 'neque enim satis veteres (libri manuscripti Xenophontis) aut boni sunt, dolendumque maxime non esse quibus ut praecipua ducibus confidere liceat'.

Schenkl of the University of Vienna, has been published by him¹. Two of these are of the xivth cent. viz.:—

Vaticanus 1335 (A)

(now restored to the Bibliothèque Nationale Paris, whence it was originally removed)

Marcianus 511 (N)

(in the Library of St Mark, Venice; originally the property of Cardinal Bessarion)

Two are of the xvth cent. viz.:—

Vaticanus 1950 (D)

(copied from A before that MS was corrected by a second hand)

Ambrosianus (L)

(in the Ambrosian Library, Milan, to which it was brought with others from Chios in A.D. 1606)

The rest are as late as the xvth cent.

Vaticanus	128	(B)
	1334	(C)
Urbinas	93	(E)
Palatinus	143	(F)
Parisinus	1642	(G)
"	1648	(H)
"	2077	(I)
"	2955	(K)
Marcianus	369	(M)
Vindobonensis	37	(P)
Lipsiensis		(O)

There are in addition to these fifteen mss (of which those at Paris, Milan, Venice and Vienna have been collated by Prof. Schenkl himself), one at Perugia of the xvth century (once the property of the Monastery of St Peter there), another at Cesena, a third at Munich of the same date: of which Schenkl remarks 'cum omnes saeculo xv sint conscripti, exigua vel, ut rectius dicam, nulla sine dubio eorum est fides atque auctoritas'.

¹ C. Schenkl *de codicibus quibus in Xenophontis Hierone recensendo utimur* in the *Mélanges Graux* p. 111—p. 120: 'Xenophontis quae dicuntur scripta minora cum omnino fortunam adversam experta sint, librorum socordia ac negligentia corrupta, maximam tamen traxit labem libellus qui inscribitur *Hiero*, merito a Cobeto dictus venustissimus. nam quae sit librorum manuscriptorum quibus nunc utimur condicio, facile colligitur iis locis, quos Athenaeus et Stobaeus ex hoc opusculo excerptos suis operibus inseruerunt, perillustratis. qua de re cum Cobetus *Nov. Lect.* p. 547 sqq. luculenter disputaverit, non meum esse puto rem actam agere, quamquam mihi persuasum est Cobetum in scriptura constituenda nimis diligenter Athenaei et Stobaei secutum esse vestigia, qui quin in excerptis illis haud pauca pro arbitrio immutaverint, in primis verborum ordinem et constructionem, omiserint multa, alia de suo addiderint, omnino dubitare non licet. quam ob rem si codicibus ipsis, quibus is libellus nobis traditus est, posthabitis Athenaeo et Stobaeo ducibus te committas, verendum est, ne ea, quae hi intulerunt, amplectaris, germanas autem Xenophontis scripturas reicias'.

The above mss (setting aside **D** and **M**, of which **D** is a transcript of **A** and **M** of **N**) may be divided into two groups, one containing

A B E G K L N = Φ

the other

C F H I O P = **Z**

as may be proved by a comparison of the respective readings in i 7, 10, 11, 13, 27, 28, 31; iv 2, 5, 10; vi 9; vii 4, 6; viii 6; ix 1, 6; x 4.

Of the mss comprised under **Z** those which most resemble each other are **F H I P**; **C** and **O** are very closely connected, both have in iv 9 τὰ παραπλήσια; in vii 6 **C** has οὕτω with τε written under, **O** has οὕτε in margin; in viii 3 ξπαινον is omitted; in viii 4 τοῦ is omitted; and in xi 12 both have μόνον συμμάχους.

The former group Φ may be divided into two classes, in the first of which **A** must be placed; all the others (which Schenkl names **X**) being taken from a ms very like **A**. **N** bears most resemblance to **A**; **G** and **L** show a considerable difference from it; **L** occupies a place intermediate between **N G** and **B E K**; the latter are most divergent from **A**.

All the mss were apparently transcripts of a copy, which was not very old and full of errors. **A** most resembles this copy, but sometimes **X** and **Z** present better readings, though generally they are more corrupt. Some of these may have existed in the common original of all the extant mss, but most of the corrections, no doubt, are traceable to copyists, who corrected a few trifling errors, while they left the more important untouched.

We must therefore make **A** the basis of our text; whether we are to attribute any weight to the second group (**Z**) is extremely doubtful.

Besides these mss, other aids to criticism are furnished by the readings in the extracts in the Vienna ms of Stobaeos in his Florilegium xlix 30—46 = ch. i 1—ch. vi § 6 with sundry omissions, and in xlvi 109 = ch. ix § 1—§ 10. Athenaeos also has inserted three passages in his Deipnosophists iii p. 121 D, iv p. 144 C and iv p. 171 E.

EDITIONS AND COMMENTARIES

The editio princeps of Xenophon issued from the press of P. Giunta at Florence A.D. 1516 and was reprinted 1527; in the interval appeared the Aldine, Venice A.D. 1525, edited by F. Asulanus; this was followed by one with an Introduction by P. Melancthon, Halle 1540, and by another at Bâle in 1555 with a Latin Translation by Erasmus.

The editions of Henri Estienne (Stephanus), Paris 1561, 1581, are much more correct than any of the preceding, and form the vulgate. The edition published at Bâle in 1569 contained a Latin version by J. Löwenklau (Leunclavius); a second edition of this was issued at Frankfurt in 1594, and a third in 1596 containing the notes of Aemilius Portus.

After a long interval followed the edition of Edward Wells Oxford 1703, with Dodwell's *Chronologia Xenophontea*, 5 vols. 8vo, republished with considerable improvements in the Text by C. A. Thieme, Leipzig 1763—1764 in 4 vols. 8vo with a preface by J. A. Ernesti and three dissertations by T. Hutchinson; the Editor however did not live to complete the work.

[The old editions of the *Hieron* were based on such mss as **B E K**. Reuchlin used one of the mss that fall under the group denoted by Z. Most of the readings noted by Stephanus in the margin of his Edition are taken from **N**, as $\iota \ \tau \ \epsilon \ \tau \iota$, $\iota \ \iota$ $\kappa \alpha \kappa \omicron \delta \alpha \iota \mu \omicron \nu \alpha \nu$. The various readings of Villoison were taken from **F H**; they contain therefore nothing authoritative.]

There are also Editions of the entire works by:

J. C. Zeunius, Leipzig, 1778—1782, 6 vols.

B. Weiske, Leipzig, 1789—1804, 6 vols. 8vo.

J. Gottlob Schneider, Leipzig, 1806—1815 (reprinted at Oxford 1810—1817): ed. 3 *Cyropaedia* by F. A. Bornemann, *Opuscula minora* by G. A. Sauppe, Leipzig, 1838, *Hellenica* 1849.

J. B. Gail, Paris, 1797—1815, 7 vols. 4to (the Greek Text with a French version and critical notes by the Editor in the 7th volume).

G. H. Schaefer, Leipzig, 1811—1813, 6 vols. 16mo.

L. Dindorf, Leipzig, 1824, ed. 2, 1880.

Didot, *Script. Graec. Bibl.* Paris 1838, ed. 2, 1861.

The edition in the *Bibliotheca Graeca* of Rost-Jacobs, 4 vols. 8vo, Gotha 1828—1846.

G. Sauppe, Leipzig, 1865—1866, 5 vols. 8vo with *Appendicula* containing critical notes on the *scripta minora*, 1869.

C. Schenkl, Berlin, 1876 (Vols. I and II only published, neither containing the *Hieron*).

There are several separate Editions of the *Hieron* by:—

Johann Reuchlin, Hagenaw 1520 sm. 4to containing the *Apologia* and *Agésilas* with the *Hieron*: praised for its accuracy by Stephanus, Dindorf, Frotscher, Sauppe.

C. H. Frotscher, Leipzig, 1822, 8vo.

R. Hanow, Halle, 1835, 8vo.

C. Graff, Leipzig, 1842.

G. A. Sauppe, Helmstadt, 1841, 8vo.

L. Breitenbach, Gotha, 1847, 8vo. (forming part of the *Bibliotheca Graeca* edited by Jacobs and Rost).

Some useful observations are given by J. H. Bremi in *Symbol. Philol. Helvet.* I p. 167 ff, Zurich 1819; by Th. E. Richter *de locis quibusdam Hieronis Xenophontei*, Liegnitz 1837, by N. I. B. Kappeyne Van de Coppello in his inaugural dissertation Leyden 1841 (reviewed by Breitenbach in the *Zeitschrift für die Alterthumswissenschaft*, 1845 Nr. 70, p. 553—p. 563), by C. Frank in his Review of Breitenbach's edition ZAW 1848, p. 294—p. 299, and by C. G. Cobet in his *Novae Lectiones* p. 547—p. 568. G. A. Sauppe's *Lexilogus Xenophonteus* or grammatical Index to the entire works is a useful supplement to Sturz's *Lexicon*.

B. Critical Notes

ABBREVIATIONS

Br = Breitenbach	Sa = G. Sauppe
Co = Cobet	Sch = Schaefer
Dind = L. Dindorf	Schn = Schneider
Fr = Frotscher	Steph = editio Stephaniana
Ha = Hanow	T = codices omnes

CHAPTER I

- 1 § 1 l. 4 εἰδέναι: καὶ εἰδέναι Sa vulgo. ὁ ποῖα δὴ ἐγώ—*ἀν εἰδέναι* codd.; ὁ ποῖα ἐγώ Stobaeus: ὁ ποῖ' *ἀν ἐγώ—εἰδεῖν* Cobetus δὴ ex *ἀν* natum esse ratus et obscuratam sic particulam, cum desideraretur a nescio quo correctore, in alienum locum insertam.

§ 2 l. 11 ὁ τυραννικός Co cum AD: vulgo ὁ τυραννικός τε. Mox ἰδιωτικός Sa cum CDGIKOP. See Riddell *Dig. of Plat. idioms* § 237 r where several passages are adduced from Plato, to show the irregularity with which the article is expressed and omitted, when it has to be supplied from a preceding to a subsequent clause. Cf. Shilleto on Thuc. i 10, 4.

§ 3 l. 14 οὐχὶ σὺ cum Stobaeo Co: οὐχὶ καὶ σὺ vulgo.

- 2 § 5 l. 28 κοινῇ Sa vulgo: καὶ κοινῇ cum D Br.

§ 7 l. 39 ἐν τίνι διαφέρει Frank, Schenkl: εἰ τινι δ. vulgo: ὁ τι δ. cum Stobaeo Co. βλου quod vulgo legitur post ἰδιωτικοῦ omisi secutus Cobetum; βλος om. Stobaeus.

§ 8 l. 40 ἐν τοῖσδε—διαφέρα vulgo: ἐν μὲν τοῖσδε δια-
φέρει ἄν εἰ πολλαπλάσια κτῆ Stobaeus, unde Cobetus ἐν μὲν
τόδε διαφέρει ἄν coniecit.

§ 9 l. 48 εἶχε cum Stobaeo Weiske Schn Dind; ἔχει cum
libris Br Fr.

3 § 11 l. 56 θεάμασι delet Coppello: si quid mutandum,
equidem malim verba διὰ τῆς ὀψews delere cum Schenklio.

60 θαυμάτων ἔνεκα om. Schn Co. 61 δοκεῖ εἶναι Υ:
εἶναι ita demum retineri potest, si aut δοκοῦντα scribas et
mox συναγείρεται aut cum Leonclavio ἐνθα ἃ δξιοθεατό-
τατα δοκεῖ εἶναι ἀνθρώποις συναγείρεται.

§ 12 l. 67 ἄμα vulgo: ἄμα τε A (τε m²) G L N.

§ 13 l. 69 ἀλλ' ἄρα Sa vulgo: ἀλλὰ Co. Cf. Mem. iii iii
2, xi 4, iv iv 2, 22, Ages. vii 5. 71 ἄλγισα γε Sa Co: ἄλγισα
τε vulgo. 73 πολλαπλάσια—ἡ δσα vulgo: ἡ om. Zonaras
p. 152 c.

§ 14 l. 77 τοῖς θεάμασι vulgo: ἐν τοῖς θεάμασι malit Co.

4 83 τύραννον—κατηγορεῖν Co coll. Plat. Gorg. p. 522 b:
vulgo τυράννου—κατηγορεῖν: τύραννον H.

§ 15 l. 87 πάντες κακόνει εἰσι Co coll. Mem. ii ii 9: vulgo
πάντες πάντα κακὰ νοοῦσι: πάντα, quod omittunt libri,
habet Stobaeus om. πάντες.

§ 17 l. 98 ἐσθίειν καὶ πίνειν H F H (in quo καὶ ante
ἐσθίειν) I Stobaeus.

§ 18 l. 103 πλὴν οὐχ οἱ τύραννοι Co ex Athenaeo (ubi
tamen οὐχ uncis inclusit Kaibel): vulgo πλὴν οἱ τύραννοι.
Cf. de rep. Lac. v. 6, Dem. 18, 45 καὶ τοιουτοῖ τι πάθος
πεπονθότων ἀπάντων, πλὴν οὐκ ἐφ' ἑαυτοὺς ἐκάστων οἰομένων τὸ
δεινὸν ἥξειν, 56, 23 νῦν δὲ φαίνεται (ἡ ναὺς) πλέουσα πανταχόσε
πλὴν οὐκ εἰς Ἀθήνας. 104 οὐδεμίαν ἐν ταῖς ἑορταῖς ἐπι-
δοσιν ἔχουσιν αὐτῶν αἱ τράπεζαι Athenaeus.

§ 19 l. 107 ἐκείνο vulgo: ἐκείνου, quod Stobaeus habet,
5 malit Co. 111 τῷ χρόνῳ τῆς ἐδωδῆς Y Stob. (τῆς ἡδονῆς
A sec. Sauppium): corr. Steph. ii 9 ex Athenaeo. μειονεκτεῖ
ὁ post Castal. Steph. ii: μειονεκτεῖς A (m² μειονεκτεῖ δ) cet.

§ 21 l. 117 οὐκοῦν vulgo: οὐκοῦν Breit. 122 ἐπὶ τὴν
ἐαυτῶν ut inficete et putide repetita damnat Co. 125 ἀγ-
λευκίστερον Zeune alii: ἀγλυκέστερον Y.

§ 22 l. 128 τούτων vulgo: τούτοις H.

§ 23 l. 132 ταῦτα τὰ ἐδέσματα vulgo: ταῦτα ζητήματα Stobaeus; ταῦτα ἐδέσματα Cobetus cum Athenaei cod. Marc.; ἡδύσματα temere Coppello, et mox ἐπικουρήματα mavult. 133 voculam ἥ ante μαλακῆς suspectam habet Sauppilus. Pro μαλακῆς Stobaeus habet ἄμα κακῆς: μὴ διὰ κακῆς Athenaeus, unde Kaibel effecit ἀηδία κακῆς. 134 ἐπεὶ οἱ γε ἡδέως ἐσθλόντες Athenaeus: ἐπεὶ εὖ οἷδ' ἐγώ γε ὅτι οἱ ἡδέως ἐσθλόντες Sa vulgo.

§ 24 l. 140 ἀχαρίτων Sa vulgo: ἀχαρίστων L (τ m²) D E Stob. Par. A Villosion Steph.

- 6 § 25 l. 143 τῶν σίτων vulgo: τοιούτων coni. Schenklus: certe τῶν τοιούτων debuit. Adnotat idem: Postquam Hiero vera esse quae de odoribus Simonides dixerat, concessit, haec addit: 'et eiusmodi rerum cui semper genus omne suppetit, is nihil earum sumit cum appetentia: verum cui quid raro contigit, is cum gaudio eo fruitur, si quando obvenierit'. 146 πιμπλάμενος Zeune Dind Sa: ἐμπιμπλάμενος M Stob. προφανῇ: προσ-επιφανῇ Stob.

CHAPTER II

§ 1 l. 5 Pro δῶν Heindorf Plat. Protag. § 100 p. 351 A scribi iubet ὁσῶν, respiciens cap. 1 § 24.

§ 2 l. 12 πλήθει: εἶδει v. φύσει coni. Ernesti. Equidem, si quid mutandum, πιστεῖ malim coll. quae Hiero dicit in responsione iv l de fide servorum.

§ 4 l. 21 φανερά codicum om. Ernesti al., et Hesychius quidem v. ἀνάπτουκα explicat per φανερά. In Stobaeo legitur θεάσασθαι φανερώς.

- 7 § 5 l. 25 λελθῆναι vulgo: οὐδὲν εἰδέναι coni. Jacobs Animadv. in Athenaeum p. 189.

§ 6 l. 31 ἐλάχιστον Co: ἐλάχιστα vulgo, quod ex seq. πλείστα ortum videtur.

§ 7 l. 33 εἰ ἡ μὲν εἰρήνη—ὁ δὲ πόλεμος Co: εἰ μὲν εἰρήνη—εἰ δὲ πόλεμος Sa vulgo: et Stobaeus quidem ὁ δὲ πόλεμος habet.

§ 9 l. 44 ποι Heind. Sa Co: πον vulgo.

§ 10 l. 52 ἐν ἀσφαλείᾳ vulgo, quod apud optimos scriptores reperiri notat Sa; ἐν ἀσφαλείᾳ Co. Cf. Eur. Hec. 981 ἐν ἀσφαλείᾳ γὰρ ἡδ' ἐρημία, Hippol. 785 τὸ πολλὰ πράσσειν οὐκ ἐν ἀσφαλείᾳ βίον, Iph. T. 762 ἐν ἀσφαλείᾳ γάρ, Heracl. 397 ἐν

ἀσφαλεῖ τε τῆσδ' ἰδρύσεται χθονός, Plat. legg. p. 892 E καταλι-
πόντα ὑμᾶς ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ, Dem. de fals. leg. § 152 ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ
τὰ πράγμαθ' ὑμῶν ἔσεσθαι, § 262 ἕως οὖν ἔτ' ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ φυλά-
8 ξασθε. 55 οἱ οἴεται Co.

§ 12 l. 62 ὁ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι Reuchlin Dind Sa; σὺν ταῖς
πόλεσι (ὁ om.) Υ; ὁ συνὼν ταῖς π. e conl. Steph.

§ 14 l. 68 οἱ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι πρὸς τὰς πόλεις Reuchlin
(intervallo post οἱ relicto) Sa: οἱ σύνοντες πόλεσι Υ.

§ 15 l. 72 τοὺς πολεμίους primus inclusi. 74 δόξαν
ἀναλαμβάνουσιν vulgo: δόξαν λαμβάνουσιν Co coll. Cyr.
i vi 22, Plat. Politic. p. 290 n, Eur. Hel. 847 πῶς οὖν θανούμεθ'
ὥστε καὶ δόξαν λαβεῖν.

§ 16 l. 79 π. addidit Co.

§ 17 l. 82 ἀντιπράττοντας: vulgo ἀντιπραττομένους,
quod ut foedam barbariem damnat Cobetus N. L. p. 555.
Sauppius contra conferri iubet Plutarchum Cam. vit. c. 42
ἀντιπραττομένης τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τὸν Κάμλλον οὐκ ἐώσης ἀπο-
θέσθαι τὴν ἀρχήν, et Pelopid. vit. c. 17 τῇ δόξῃ καταπληττόμενοι
τοὺς ἀντιπραττομένους, ubi tamen Dindorfius Thesaur. ἀντι-
πραττομένης et ἀντιπραττομένους contra Sintenisium reponi vult.
Adde Dionys. Halic. A. R. vii 51 ἀντιπράττεσθαι λόγους τε
καὶ ἔργοις.

9 § 18 l. 90 τοῦτου <ἐνεκα> Schn Co: τοῦτου vulgo, quod
cum Reuchlino prorsus omittere quam cum aliis ἐνεκα addere
malit Sa. Cf. iii 4 l. 16. Ceterum τοῦτο Frotscher post Ja-
cobsium Anim. in Athen. p. 224, qui confert Cyr. vi v 9 δ λέγεται
φοβερόν εἶναι... τοῦτο μάλιστα θαρρεῖτε, Heind. ad Plat.
Phaedr. p. 228: quibus locis addi potest Cyr. v v 42 ubi vide
quae adnotavi. 93 οἶον Co: vulgo δν.

CHAPTER III

§ 1 l. 1 ὡς Ernesti Dind Sa: ὡς G I K O: οἷας Steph: ἥς
Br vulgo.

§ 2 l. 6 ἄν που ἀπῆ Co Sa: libri ἄν που ἀπῆγ. Sed
absentem, non abeuntem, desiderare solemus.

§ 3 l. 12 νηποιναί: νηποινί Z, νηποινή H; νηποινά K:
cet.

§ 4 l. 17 αὐταῖς A (in mg m² αὐτοῖς) Z Sa Br: αὐτοῖς
vulgo.

§ 5 l. 19 τάγαθά Schn e Stobaeo: ἀγαθά Υ.

10 § 7 l. 25 δῆπου om. A.

§ 8 l. 28 εὐρήσεις μὲν τοὺς 16. vulgo: εὐρήσεις τοὺς μὲν
16. Stobaeus 31 ἀπεκτονότας Stobaeus: ἀπεκτονηκότας
vulgo. 34 τυράννους delet Cobetus.

§ 9 l. 37 φιλεῖν Stobaeus: libri φιλεῖσθαι, A omisso se-
quente καί: φιλεῖσθαι [καὶ νόμῳ συνηγαγασμένων] Stobaeus
Meinekianus. 39 χρή Dind Co; χρῆν (χρῆν) Y.

CHAPTER IV

§ 2 l. 7 τοῦ πιστῶς πρὸς τινὰς ἔχειν vehementer suspecta
sunt Cobeto, ut quae et frigeant nec satis ei convenire videan-
tur, 'quoniam πιστῶς ἔχειν est πιστὸς εἶναι, neque hoc
tyrannus expetit ut ipse erga alios servet fidem, ὅπως αὐτοῖς
πιστὸς ἔσται, sed ut habeat quibus tuto credere possit'.

9 οὐδὲ σίτοις καὶ ποτοῖς: οὐδὲ σιτίοις καὶ ποτοῖς Athenaeus
Kaibelianus: οὐδὲ σίτοις οὐδὲ ποτοῖς Stobaeus Meinekianus.
οὔτε σιτίοις κρατίστοις Y: ἀκρατεστάτοις purissimis coni.
Heind. coll. Piers. Moer. 25. 11 ἀπογεύσασθαι Z Sa:
ἀπογεύεσθαι AX Athenaeus Stobaeus.

11 § 5 l. 23 vulgatum verborum ordinem τιμωρεῖν αἱ πόλεις
αὐτοῖς; correxit Weiskius. Schenkelius cum Richtero αὐτοῖς,
quod aliquis ad τιμωρεῖν s. v. adscripserit, potius quam cum
Frotschero αἱ πόλεις, quo aegre careas, eiciendum esse indicat.

28 τοιοῦτόν τι, Schenkelius; post Cobetum; τοιοῦτο
Stobaeus Meinekianus; τοιοῦτον A (ν post o eras.) X.

§ 6 l. 28 δ δὲ σὺ οἶει Cobetus coll. vi 12; vulgo εἰ δὲ σὺ
οἶει. 88 ἡγείται F: ἡγῆται vel ἡγήται cet.

§ 7 l. 39 θάπτόν τι cum Stobaeo (θάσσον) Zeunius:
θάπτον Y.

12 § 8 l. 45 Scripturam Stob. MS Paris. ἀλλὰ μέντοι καὶ
πλουσίους ὄψει οὐχ οὕτως ὀλίγους τῶν ἰδιωτῶν ὡς πένητας πολλοὺς
τῶν τυράννων probant Heindorf et Schneider. Magis placeret
quod editus habet ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ πένητας ὄψει ὀλίγους τῶν ἰδιωτῶν,
πολλοὺς δὲ τῶν τυράννων, nisi eadem sententia in vulgata inesse
videretur (Saurpe). 46 οὐχ ante οὕτως delent Bremius,
Breit.

§ 9 l. 57 τι accessit e Stobaeo.

§ 10 l. 63 νομίζοι libri praeter Z in quibus legitur καλοῖ,
qua de forma vide Rutherford *The New Phrynichus* p. 442 sq.

CHAPTER V

- § 1 l. 3 κοσμίους Y; ἀλκίμους cum Stobaeo Co.
 13 § 2 l. 9 ὑπεξαίρωνται: ante Schneiderum ὑπεξαίρωνται
 legebatur. Cf. Plat. Rep. p. 567 B.
 § 4 l. 28 συγχάρι F et K (in mg), συγχωρεῖ cet.

CHAPTER VI

- 14 § 2 l. 9 ψδαῖς τε: τε om. Z. 11 εὐθυμίας Co duce
 Weiskio: μέθης Schn; μεθύσεως Schenkl.
 § 3 l. 14 αὐτός τοῦ M et A E L (in quibus u ante s eras.);
 αὐτούς cet.; αὐτοῦ τοῦ Brodaeii lectionem restituit Zeune.
 § 4 l. 19 ἀόπλους G Sa; ἀνόπλους A (u eras.) cet.
 § 5 l. 22 βαρβάρους δέ: vulgatam τε ita cum Bachio corr.
 Weiske. 26 φόβων: φόβων τε A (in quo τε eras.) Z; φόβων
 γε scribendum suspicor. καταπεπληγμένης libri: παραπε-
 πληγμένης cum Stobaeo malit Cobetus, sed vide Cyr. III i 25.
 § 6 l. 29 συμπαρομαρτῶν λυμαντήρ e Stobaeo Cobetus
 συμπαρακολουθῶν λυμῶν Sa vulg.
 15 § 9 l. 40 ἡμεῖς γε ed. i Steph Zeune; ἡμεῖς τε Y. 42 λαγ-
 χάνομεν A (in mg m² τυγχάνομεν) X: τυγχάνομεν Z.
 § 12 l. 54 δ δὲ ξηλώσας Steph: ὁ δὲ ξηλώσας A X.
 § 14 l. 65 κατακαίνειν Co Sa: κατακτείνειν libri, quod
 epicorum et tragicorum esse monuit Cobetus N.L. p. 560.
 Attica habentur ἀποκτείνω, ἀπέκτεινα, ἀπέκτονα; κατα-
 καίνω, κατέκανον, κατακέκονα. 68 δέη Schn Sa: τε
 δέη A G K L N.
 § 16 l. 79 ἀπαλλαττομένους: ἀπαλλαττόμενα em. Cob.

CHAPTER VII

§ 2 l. 12 τοῖς τυράννοις vulgo Sa: τοὺς τυράννους Schn
 Hdf Ha Co: sed additi ad ποιεῖν dativi exempla sunt Hell. II
 i 8 αὐτῷ (τῷ Κύρῳ) ἀπαντῶντες οὐ διέωσαν διὰ τῆς κόρης τὰς
 χεῖρας, δ ποιοῦσι βασιλεῖ μόνον, v III 10 οὐδὲν τῶν δικαίων
 ἐποιοῦν τοῖς κατεληλυθόσιν, Mem. II III 13 τοῦτο δέοι ἂν
 πρότερον αὐτὸν ἐκείνῳ ποιεῖν, Anab. III II 24 ἡμῖν ἂν οἶδ' ὅτι
 τρισάσμενος τοῦτ' ἐπολεῖ, IV II 23 πάντα ἐποίησαν τοῖς ἀπο-
 θανούσιν ὅσα περ νομίζεται ἀνδράσιν ἀγαθοῖς, v VII 29, VII i 2
 ὑπισχνεῖτο πάντα ποιήσσειν αὐτῷ ὅσα δέοι, REq. βλακὶ γε

μὴν ἴππῳ ἀρκεῖν μοι δοκεῖ γράψαι πάντα τάναντία ποιεῖν, Plato Apol. Socr. c. xvii p. 30 A ταῦτα ποιήσω καὶ ξένῳ καὶ δστῷ, Isae. de Nicostr. her. § 19 δὲ τῷ τεθνεῶτι μὴδὲν τῶν νομιζομένων ποιήσας τῶν χρημάτων αὐτοῦ κληρονομεῖν αξιοῖ. The occurrence of ἄλλον in the next clause does not affect the question whether τυράννους or τυράννοις be the right reading, because it may be attracted into the case of the relative δντινα, cf. Anab. v v 12 ἀνάγκη ἡμῖν καὶ Κορύλλαν καὶ Παφλαγόνας καὶ ἄλλον δντινα ἂν δυνώμεθα φίλους ποιεῖσθαι, i iv 15 ἄλλον οὐτινος ἂν δέσθε οἶδα ὅτι ὡς φίλοι τεύξεσθε Κύρου, Dem. adv. Lept. § 120 ἔσται χαλκοῦς ἰσάναι καὶ σίτησιν διδόναι καὶ ἄλλ' ὅτι ἂν βούλησθε πλὴν τούτων. 13 δντινα—τυγχάνουσι: δντιν' ἂν τυγχάνουσιν requirit Cobetus: τυγχάνουσι A B C.

§ 3 l. 15 ἐπὶ στίοις γε Schneiderus: ἐπεὶ σιτίοις τε Y (om. B). Cf. Oecon. vii 6 ἐπεὶ τὰ γε ἀμφὶ γαστέρα πάνν καλῶς ἦλθε πεπαιδευμένη, Anab. i iii 9 οὔτε γὰρ ἡμεῖς ἐτι ἐκείνου στρατιῶται ἐπεὶ γε οὐ συνεπόμεθα αὐτῷ, Plat. Gorg. § 46 p. 492 B ἐπαινοῦσι τὴν σωφροσύνην—διὰ τὴν αὐτῶν ἀνανδρίαν· ἐπεὶ γε οἱ ἀρχῆς ὑπῆρξεν ἡ βασιλείων νίειν εἶναι—τί—ἀσχιον 17 καὶ κάκιον εἴη σωφροσύνης τοῖς τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. 19 ἐμφύη Co; ἐμφύη Y.

§ 5 l. 29 αἱ ὑπουργαὶ αἱ C: alteram αἱ om. cet. ὑπὸ τῶν φοβομένων A (in mg m² παρὰ) X; παρὰ τῶν φοβομένων Z.

§ 7 l. 30 φαίμεν: φαῖμεν Dindorf.

§ 9 l. 45 κοινῇ Mehler Co: κοινῆς vulgo. 46 ἐθελῶσιν οἱ αὐτοί, αὐτοὶ Reuchlin, Krueger: ἐθέλωσιν, οἱ αὐτοὶ οὗτοι 18 vulgo: αὐτοὶ οὗτοι Bremi. 47 οἱ δὲ ὑπουργήσωσι vulgo: ὅ ἂν ὑπουργήσωσι malit Schaeferus.

§ 11 l. 61 δσπερ—ἐκτίσαστο Sa auctore Madvigio: δσπερ ἂν ἀπαξ κτήσαστο A E O, δσπερ ἂν ἀπαξ κτήσῃται A, H I N P; κτήσασται L (η m²).

§ 12 l. 63 [καὶ] ταύτῃ Reuchlin: ἐν (om. καὶ) ταύτῃ Y (in H ἐν expunctum). 67 ἀντιπαράσχοι libri: ἀντιπάσχοι D'Orville Charit. 217. ἐδέσμευσεν vulgo quod in ἐδῆσεν mutandum esse iudicat Cobetus, illud ratus non esse Xenophontheae aetatis vocabulum. Habet tamen Plato Legg. p. 808 D ὁ καὶς πάντων θηρίων ἐστὶ δυσμεταχειριστότατον· διὸ δὴ πολλοὶς αὐτὸ ὅλον χαλινοῖς τισι δεῖ δεσμεύειν monente v. d. Hermann Hager in huius libelli recensione in Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift No. 24 p. 747.

CHAPTER VIII

- 19 § 3 l. 17 *ἐπαινεσάντων ἀμφοτέροι* v. d. ap. Frotscherum Co: *ἐπαινεσάντων ἀμφοτέρων* libri.

§ 4 l. 21 *θεραπευσάντων—δόντων* Co pro vulgatis *θεραπευσάτωσαν—δότησαν*. 23 *χαράν* vulgo.

§ 5 l. 30 *ἥδιον* in G add. idemque m² in A (s. v.) E e mera coniectura profectum recepit Zeunius, ducem secutus Castalio-nem; καλλίω, quod vulgo receperunt ex Reuchlini editione, nihili esse statuit Schenkelius. μάλλον cum Leunclavio et Brodaeο Stephanus inseri maluit.

- 20 § 9 l. 41 *μέλλομεν* Weiske: *μέλλοιμεν* Y.

§ 10 l. 48 *φόρημα* vulgo: *δορυφόρημα* Lobeck ad Phryn. p. 250. 50 *ἰσοτιμίας* E: *ἰσότιμος* A (-τιμους m²) GL O: *ἰσοτίμους* ceteri. *σωτηρίας* ex versione Aretini (*salutis suae*) adscivit Zeune. Schneidero videtur aliquod vocabulum latere in vitio aperto. Equidem cum Leunclavio legendum puto *τιμῆς* aut *εἰς τιμάς*.

CHAPTER IX

- § 3 l. 12 *ἀνάγκης δέομενον* Y: *τὸν δ. δ.* Steph. Zeune.
21 13 *κολάζειν* in ora libri adscriptum fuisse suspicatur Cobetus pro interpretamento.

§ 5 l. 21 *πολιτικά* Stobaeus; *κωλυτικά* Y. 23 *μόρας* A: *μοίρας* cet. Stobaeus.

§ 6 l. 29 *ἐντόνως* D, *εὐτόνως* cet. Stobaeus.

§ 7 l. 30 *ὀρμώντό γ' ἄν* L (γ' ἄν in ras. m²) et O (?) Stobaeus; *ὀρμώντό γε* A (in mg m² τὸ ἄν) cet.; *ὀρμῶντο ἄν* (om. γ') G N.

§ 8 l. 39 *ἄν τῇ ἀσχολίᾳ συμπαρομαρτοίῃ* Co: vulgo *σὺν τῇ ἀσχολίᾳ συμπαρομαρτοί*; sed dativo solo utitur post *συμπαρομαρτεῖν* in aliis locis, sicut in Symp. iv 17, Cyr. viii vii 7.

- 22 § 10 l. 46 *συνελόντι* vulgo: *συνελόντα* D. 49 *τὸ σκοπεῖν* G: *τοῦ σκοπεῖν* cet. 51 *ἐπιτελεῖσθαι* ex Stobaeo adscivit Steph II: *ἐπιμελεῖσθαι* Y.

§ 11 l. 52 *ἐπὶ πολλοῖς* Co: *ἐν πολλοῖς* vulgo. Vide Wayte on Dem. Androt. § 69. 53 *προτεθειμένων* vulgo: *προτιθεμένων* Co. *αἱ δαπάναι* Co: *δαπάναι* vulgo.

CHAPTER X

- 23 § 4 l. 20 κακοῦργοι vulgo: καὶ κακοῦργοι Heindorf.
 § 5 l. 27 τῶν ἰδίων Zeune: τῶν ἰδιωτῶν Υ.
 § 6 l. 32 ἐν στρατείᾳ Sa, cf. vi 9: ἐν στρατιᾷ Υ (τῇ post
 ἐν add. A s. v. et K.
 § 7 l. 35 τὰς δέ K (δ' om. cet.).

CHAPTER XI

- 24 § 2 l. 6 πρῶτον vulgo: πρότερον G. 9 παραστάσι
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 391 c.
 § 4 l. 15 ἴδια G I O Steph. probante Cobeto; ἰδίᾳ vulgo.
 25 § 7 l. 30 ὧν ἴαν vulgo; ὡς ἐάν Hdf Schn; ᾧ ἐάν conicit
 Sa. 32 εὐ ἔσει νικῶν libri: quae verbi εἶναι cum participio
 coniunctio cum per se non improbabilis sit tum aliis locis
 defenditur, veluti Anab. iii iii 2 εἰμὶ διδάων; ii ii 13; Oecon.
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 § 9 l. 39 πολλῶν insulse abundare vidit Cobetus.
 § 10 l. 42 ποι We: πον Υ. θεωρήσονται vulgo: θεωρή-
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 § 12 l. 53 καὶ ante προθύμους del. Heind. Co. 57 ἰδίῳ
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 26 § 15 l. 70 κекτήσῃ ex Reuchlino et marg. Steph. revocavit
 Schaefer Mel. cr. p. 4: κекτημένος Zeune: κέκτησο A;
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The References are by *Chapter* and *Section*.

) (indicates 'as distinguished from'.

The numbers affixed to words denote respectively :—

- 1 doubtful or suspected words
- 2 words that occur only once in Xen.
- 3 words that occur only once in Xen. and seldom, if
ever, in other writers
- 4 Ionic words
- 6 poetical words
- 7 un-classical words

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ἰδίων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι 10 5; ἀπὸ
τῶν *l.* κτημάτων 10 1
ἰδιωτεία)(τὸ ἀρχειν 8 1
ἰδιωτεύειν³)(ἀρχειν 8 5
ἰδιώτης)(ἀσκητής 4 6; 'a pri-
vate person')('an official'
1 2, 18, 8 3;)(τύραννος 4 8, 9,
6 1, 7 2, 11 6;)(πόλις 11 9
ἰδιωτικός)(τυραννικός 1 2
ἰέναι: ἰθι δὴ πορτο 8 3
ἰκανός *c.* infin. 7 9, 10 5; *l.*
ἀνὴρ, *dives ac potens* 1 9;
τὰ *l.* 4 8; *l.* ψυχάς 7 12
ἰπικὴ 9 6
ἰπικός 9 11
ἵππος 10 2
ἰπποτροφεῖν *c.* coniect. Cobeti
11 5
ἰσθι: *v.* 8, εἰδέναι
ἴσος: ἐκ τοῦ ἴσου εἶναι 8 5; τὰ
ἴσα 8 4
ἰσοτιμία *dub.* 8 10
ἰστάναι: εἰκόντας ἰστᾶσιν 4 5
ἰσχυρός: *l.* ἀκροπόλεων 4 7

K

καθαρεύειν² 4 4
καὶ *atque adeo* 6 6; prefixed to
interrogative pronouns and

particles 1 1, 15, 7 11; em-
phasizes adverbs of inten-
sity when prefixed to them,
καὶ μάλιστα vel maxime 2 10;
καὶ πολὺ 8 7; *καὶ—γε adeo*,
'yes and' 1 17, 22, 3 8, 6
16, 8 9, 9 7, 10; *καὶ—δέ in-*
super 4 5, 6 14; *καὶ γὰρ*
etenim, 'for in fact' 11 1;
καὶ μὲν δὴ 'and further' 2
12; *καὶ μήν—γε* 'moreover'
9 8; *καὶ οὗτος et is, isque*,
formula quae inferendae rei
inservit, quae id quod iam
dictum est augeat atque
acuat 1 9, 2 2, 7 8; *καὶ ταῦ-*
τα idque, et quidem, 'and
that too' 1 9, 7 8 *dub.*

καιρός τάχους 8 9
κάκεινας for καὶ ἐκέλευς 6 1
κακηγορεῖν τινα *coni.* Cobeti
pro vulg. κατηγορεῖν 1 14
κακοδαίμονεν⁷ 2 4
κακόνους *coni.* Cobeti 1 15
κακοῦν: κακῶσαι 2 2
κακουργεῖν 10 8
κακουργία 9 8
κακούργος 4 3, 10 4
καλλωπίζειν: (*PASS.*) κεκαλλω-
πισμένην 11 2
καλόν τι *pulcrum quiddam* 2 16;
καλλίονα 8 5; τοῖς καλοῖς
κάγαθοις 10 3; κάλλιον 11 5
κάμνειν *aegrotare* 8 4
κᾶν *i. q.* καὶ ἐάν 11 15
κατὰ in distribution: κατὰ λό-
χους 9 5; κατ' ἀγρούς, κατὰ
κώμας 9 7; καθ' ἓν *singula-*
tim, 'one by one'; κατὰ
συμφορὰν 3 4; κατ' ὄφθαλ-
μούς 1 14
καταγελάσθαι: καταγελῶ 11 6
καταθεᾶσθαι *considerare* 3 1
κατακαίνειν 6 14; κατέκανε 7
12
κατακοσμεῖν 11 3
κατακρίνειν: κατακεκριμένος
ἀποδείκνυται 7 10

κατακτείνειν unclassical in prose for κατακαίνειν 7 12
 καταλείπεσθαι (PASS.) 5 2
 καταμαρτάνειν: καταμεμαρτάνειν 1 4
 καταμέμφοσθαι, cum accus. 'to complain of' 8 6
 κατανοεῖν: κατανοήσας 1 22
 καταπλήττεσθαι: ψυχῆς ὑπὸ φόβου καταπεπληγμένης 6 5 dub.
 κατασκευάζειν: (PASS.) κατασκευάζεσθαι τινι 2 2, 11 2
 κατατιθέναι: καταθέσθαι οπὺς ἀροπορεῖ 7 13
 κατεργάζεσθαι 2 2; κατεργάσασθαι 4 7; κατεργασμένος 11 8
 κοιμᾶσθαι ὕπνον 6 7. The verb means properly 'to take up a position conducive to sleep' 'to lie down' (Hom. Od. xx. 1). Hence it is often found with ὕπνον as its object, as in Hom. II. xi 214 ὡς δὲ μὲν αὖθι πεσὼν κοιμήσατο χάλκεον ὕπνον, Hippocr. Epid. 2, 10 τοῖσι πλείστοις ἢ βαρὺ κῶμα παρείπετο, ἢ μικροῦς καὶ λεπτοὺς ὕπνους κοιμᾶσθαι
 κοινῇ, adverb, una 1 5; publice 7 9
 κολάζειν 9 2
 κολαστέον 8 9
 κόρος 11 9
 κοσμεῖν 11 5
 κόσμος 2 23, 5 1, 6
 κρατεῖν τινα εὐ ποιοῦν 11 15
 κρείττων 7 7
 κρίνειν τινί 'to judge by a thing', 1 17, 4 8
 κρυφαῖος⁶ 10 6
 κτᾶσθαι: κτῶ 11 12; ἐκτῆσατο 7 11
 κτήμα: κτήματα 4 5, 6 15
 κτήνη, τά, pecora 10 5

κτησάμενος 10 1; κεκτήσει 11 15; κεκτημένος, δ, 6 16
 κωλύει imper. with τί or οὐδέν: τί κωλύει περαινέσθαι 9 5
 κωλύετον⁷ 8 9

Λ

λαγχάνειν δέικνου καὶ ὕπνου 6 9
 λαμβάνειν δόξαν 2 15; λαβὼν ἀπέναι 'to go away with' 1 13
 λανθάνειν, followed by relative clause 3 2; λανθάνει τινὰ περί τινος 2 5
 λιμήν 4 7
 λοιδορεῖν 9 2
 λοιδορία² 1 14
 λόχος: κατὰ λόχους 9 5
 λυμαντήρ³ κοττυριόρ for λυμαντής 3 3, 6 6. (Xenophon was fond of the forms in -τηρ as θεραπευτήρ for θεραπευτής Cyr. vii v 65, ἀρμοστήρ for ἀρμοστής Hell. iv viii 39, δοτήρ, ἀποδεκτήρ Cyr. viii i 9, ἐπιτακτήρ Cyr. ii iii 4: see Rutherford's *New Phrygichus* p. 59, p. 165)
 λυπεῖν 6 16; λυπεῖσθαι τινι 4 6; ἐπὶ τινι 1 5
 λυπηρός 6 6, 8
 λυσιτελεῖν 7 13
 λυσιτελής 9 11

Μ

μακαρίζειν 7 10
 μακαριώτατον κτῆμα 11 15
 μάλα transposed 2 3; οὐ μάλα ἔχειν ἀμφὶ τι 1 12; μάλλον omissa re comparata 1 6; to be understood from the correlative clause 10 2; μάλα ἴστα πάντων 3 6, 6 13, 11 6
 μαρτυρεῖν 9 3
 μεγαλοπρεπής 11 5, 7
 μεγαλύνεσθαι ἐπὶ τινι gloriari 2 17

μέθη 6 11
 μεῖζον δύνασθαι 8 2
 μειονεκτείν, construction of, 1 11, 14, 18, 19, 21, 36, 41;
 μειονεκτείν τῶν ἰδιωτῶν 'to have less (in regard to i.e.) than private persons' 1 18
 μειοῦν *elevere* 2 17
 μελῶν: μέλῶνες 'fewer' 2 17;
 μεῖω 18
 μέλειν: μέλει τινί περί τινος 9 10
 μέλλειν: εἰ μέλλομεν *si volumus*, 'if we mean' 8 9
 μέν—ἀλλά 2 2, 6 9; ἅμα μέν—καί—δέ 6 14; μέν γε *certe quidem* 1 11, 8 9; μέν—δέ not always subjoined to the words opposed 1 9, 3 8; μέν—μέντοι 8 1, 9 1; μέν *solitarium*, without any adversative copula, ἐγὼ μέν 1 7, 3 7, 11 6; μέν omitted when δέ καί follows 11 10; μέν δὴ in introducing a subject 1 4; in concluding a subject 1 16, 2 14, 18; οὐ μέν δὴ *nequaquam* 3 3; μέν οὖν in replies 1 21, 22, 10 2; μέν—μέντοι 'although—yet' 8 1; οὔτε σὺ οὔτε ἄλλος μέν δὴ οὐδεὶς 7 11
 μένειν αὐτοῦ 11 16
 μετὰ πόθου 1 25; μετὰ χαρᾶς 1 25
 μεταδιδόναι 11 12
 μετέχειν, construction of 2 6, 4 1
 μετρίως διάγειν 1 8; μ. διατάσθαι 1 19
 μέχρι τούτου *hactenus, hucusque*, 'thus far' 1 7, 2 14; μέχρι τοῦ ἐπιλαθέσθαι 6 2
 μή in temporal sentences with indefinite antecedent 1 12;
 μή ὅτι—ἀλλά 8 5; with participle and article 10 8; in sentences denoting 'precau-

tion', 'suspicion'='lest' 2 8, 4 2, 5 2, 7 10, 9 11, 11 12
 μῆν, history of the particle 10 5; γε μὴν 8 7, 10 5, 8, 11 13
 μηχανᾶσθαι 4 10, 5 1; εἰ μεμηχανημένος εἰς 11 5
 μηχανήματα, 'dainties' 1 22
 μαιφόνος⁶ 4 10
 μικρόν: μ. ἄθλα 9 11
 μισεῖν 7 7: PASS. 10 1
 μισθός: μισθοῦ gen. pret. 6 10
 μισθοφόροι 8 10, 10 1, 3, 4
 μόραι *Lacedaemoniorum* 9 5

N

ναὶ μὰ Δία 1 13, 6 10, 10 2
 νῆ Δία 8 8
 νηποιεῖ³ 3 3 (In an inscription at Thasos of the middle of the 5th century B.C. we find the form ἀκοπιεῖ, which must be recognised as the proper form against the testimony of Apollonius de adv. p. 571, 4 and Herodian περί διχρόνων p. 374. See Roberts' *Introd. to Greek Epigraphy*, p. 60.)
 νικᾶν 11 5, 6; ν. πολὺ *magnam et certam victoriam reportare* 2 16; νικᾶν τινα εὖ ποιῶν 11 14, 2 16
 νομίζειν 6 12; with double meaning in the same clause, *lege sancire and putare* 3 3; νομίσαις 6 11; νομίσαντες 7 9; νομιζόμενοι 7 3
 νῦν: τὸ νῦν 8 1
 νύξ: καὶ νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν 7 10

O

ὁ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι *civis*, where οἱ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι *cives* might be expected 2 12
 οἰκαδε 2 9
 οἰκείος: οἰκείον ἀγαθόν 7 9
 οἰκέτης 4 7

οἰκία 2 10, 4 7
 οἶκος 1 11
 οἶκος 11 14
 οἶος 6 8
 δλεθρος, *mortis instar* 4 9
 δλος, position in reference to the def. article 1 5, 2 17, 8 4
 ὁμιλεῖν 6 3
 ὁμίλια 4 1
 ὁμοίος: τὰ δ. ποιῶσιν 8 2
 ὁμοίως 8 4; ὁ. ἅπαντα 6 16; πάντα ὁμοίως 7 31; ὁμοίως (*aeque ac*) ἐνέδρα φυλάττομαι 6 3; ὁμοίως μὲν—ὁμοίως δὲ *tam—quam* 10 5
 ὀνίνημι: ὀνήσαι 2 2
 ὀπη 4 9
 ὀπλιζέιν: ὀπλισμένοι 2 8; ὀπλισμένους 6 4
 ὀπλον: ἐν ὀπλοῖς εἶναι 2 13, 10 7
 ὀπλοφόρος 2 8
 ὀποι 9 7
 ὀπότε *quandocumque* 9 7; *quandocumque* 8 7
 ὀπότε γε 4 2
 ὀπου 2 16; ὀπου οὐ—ὀπου μὴ 1 12, 2 16
 ὀπως c. indic. praes. for *δτι* after οὐ λέγω 9 1
 ὀρᾶς, parenthetical 1 16
 ὀρέγεσθαι τινος 7 1, 3, 9 7
 ὀρμᾶσθαι 9 7
 ὀσμαί 1 24
 ὀς *qui*: ὁ ἐξήλωσας 6 12; ὁ σὺ αἰε 4 6
 ὀσος: ὀσψ—*τασοῦψ*, with the comparative in one member only of a bimembral sentence 10 2
 ὀστις: ὀτψ 11 12; ὀτι περ, i.q. ταῦτ' ὁ 11 14; ὀτιοῦν 1 13
 οὐ *pleonastice* 1 18
 οὐ μὴ with present subj. 11 15; οὐ μάλα 1 12; οὐκ—ἀλλὰ *non tam—quam* 8 10; οὐ μὰ τὸν Δία—οὐ μὲν οὖν 1 21
 οὐδέ, *ne-quidem* 'not even' 5 2, 4; *etiam non*, 'not

either', 'no more' 3 3, 4 6, 5 2, 6 12; οὐδέ—γε, 'no nor', 'nor yet' 4 7
 οὐδεῖς: οὐδὲν *nequaquam* 1 23, 10 1; οὐδὲν τι, 'not one bit' 2 3; οὐδὲν τι μάλλον 2 18; οὐδὲν ἤττον 3 4, 5 1; οὐδεὶς *nullius rei* 10 3
 οὐκέτι, *non item, non aequè* 1 16, 2 14
 οὐκοῖν 1 21, 9 6
 οὖν *resumptive* 10 4
 οὗτος *emphatic*, with demonstrative reference to relative clause preceding 1 17, 2 1, 4 6, 7 3; for τοιοῦτος 8 5; καὶ οὗτος 2 2, 7 8; διὰ τοῦτο *emphasizing a preceding participle* 4 6; διὰ ταῦτα 'for this reason', 3 3, cf. 6 12; καὶ ταῦτα 'and that too', 1 9, 7 8; ταύτη *hoc nomine* 7 12
 ὥτως serving as protasis in a conditional clause 1 3; with demonstrative reference to preceding ὥς 7 10; ὥτως separated from its adjective 1 1; ὥτως—ὥς *tantopere—quantopere* 4 8, 6 11; ὥτως transposed 1 1; ὥτως *usque adeo, tantopere* 2 16, 17
 ὀφθαλμός: ἐξ ὀφθαλμῶν τινος γίγνεσθαι 6 13
 ὀχλος) (ἐρημία 6 4

II

πάθημα 5 2
 πανήγυρις 1 11, 11 5, 10
 πάντοθεν 6 8
 πάνυ 9 1; πάνυ μὲν οὖν in answers 1 21, 22
 παρὰ πᾶσιν *apud omnes* 11 10; τοὺς παρὰ τοῖς φίλοις πλούτους 11 13; παρὰ φύσιν 1 22
 παράδειγμα 8 2
 παραπλήττεσθαι¹ 6 5 dub.
 παρὰσκειν *efficere, reddere*,

with predicate acc. 5 3; ἐκ-
 πλεω παρεσκευασμένοι 1 18
 παραστάς²: παραστάδες 11 2
 dub.
 παρατιθέναι *apponere*: παρα-
 τίθεσθαι (passive) 1 17, 22;
 (middle) *sibi apponi iubere* 1
 19
 παραχωρεῖν ὁδοῦ τινι 7 2, 7, 9
 παρέχειν *praestare*: παρᾶσχειν
 ὠφελήματα 10 4; θάρρος 10
 5; ἀσφάλειαν 10 5; σχολήν
 10 5; κόσμον 11 2; φόβον
 ἄλλοις 11 11; *facere* with
 pred. acc., παρέχειν τὴν
 πόλιν εὐδαιμονεστάτην 11 7
 παριστάται: ὅταν καιρὸς τάχους
 παρᾶσθῃ 8 9
 πᾶς: πάντων μάλιστα 8 6, 6 13,
 11 6
 πατὴρ 11 14; αἱ πατρίδες 4 3, 4,
 5 3
 πεζός: πεζῇ)(κατὰ θάλατταν 8 9
 πείθεσθαι 11 11
 πειράσθαι (MED.), πειρῶ 11 15,
 πεπειραμένος *expertus* 1 2, 2 6
 πένης (*cui quidem nihil super-
 est sed tamen suppetit unde
 vivat* Ar. Plut. 552) 4 8, 10
 περαινέσθαι *confici* (a favou-
 rite word with Xen.) 9 5, 7
 περί: ἡ περί τὰς τιμὰς εὐφροσύ-
 νῃ 7 4
 περιάπτειν *comparare*: σαυτῷ
 δύναμιν περιάψει 11 13
 περιβλέπειν *inspicere* 7 2
 περίβλεπτος 11 9
 περιττός with gen. 1 19
 πῇ 1 2
 πειν 4 2
 πιστεύεσθαι passive 5 2
 πίστις πρὸς ἄλλήλους 4 1
 πιστῶς ἔχειν πρὸς τινα 4 2
 πλείστα *plerumque* 4 11
 πλεονεκτεῖν 1 14; τωός 8 2
 πλεονεξία)(*ισοτιμία* (dub.) 8 10
 πλήθος, τό 5 1
 πλὴν οὐ 1 18 dub.

πλησιάζειν: εἰ πλησιάζοντες, 1
 24, may mean either 'those
 who are near his person'
 (cf. Soph. Oed. R. 91) or
 'members of his household'
 (ib. 1136)
 πλουτίζειν, *locupletare* 11 13
 πλούτος 'superfluity of sub-
 stance' 4 8; πλούτοι 11 13
 ποιεῖν with double accusative
 6 5, 10 8; ποιεῖν τῷ τι 7 2;
 ποιεῖν τοῦτο vicariously 'to
 do so' 4 5, 7 13, 9 9; ποιεῖ-
 σθαι ἔργον 9 10; πεποιήνται
 νόμον 4 4; ποιητέον 9 2
 πόλις τις *qualis fere* 6 7
 πολεμῖα sc. γῆ 2 8
 πολεμικός: πολεμικῶν ἐμπειρος
 6 7
 πόλεμος: πόλεμον πολεμεῖν 2 8
 πολιτικός 10 5
 πολλαπλάσιος 4 9, 8 7, ἡ 1 13
 πολὺς: πολὺ διαφέρειν 2 2;
 πολὺ διαφερόντως 1 20; πολὺ
 νικᾷν 2 16; πολὺ misplaced
 1 8
 πολυτελής)(*εὐτελής* 1 20
 πονηρός 7 11
 πορεύεσθαι 11 10
 πόρρω with gen. 'far gone, ad-
 vanced' in anything, differ-
 ent from πόρρω 'far from'
 4 4
 πότερος 8 3; πότερα *utrum* 11 5
 ποτέρως *utro modo* 11 4
 ποτόν: v. s. σίτος
 που 3 2
 πράγμα ἀργάλεον 6 4; πράγ-
 ματα ἔχειν 7 2
 πραγματεύεσθαι 8 8
 πράττειν: πρακτέον χρήματα
exigenda pecunia est 8 9;
 τοῦτο πράττειν 'to do so'
 11 10
 πρὶν ἄν generally with aor. to
 express an action preceding
 the action of the antecedent
 negative clause, the verb,

in which is future or some equivalent for the future

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προαισθῆσθαι 10 6

πρόθυμος 11 12

προκαθίστασθαι² 6 9

προκινδυνεύειν τινός 10 8

πρόμαχος 11 12

προνοεῖν τινος 10 8, 11 12

προπετώ 7 2

πρός c. acc. 'at', 'in consequence of' 8 1; *secundum*, denoting the standard by which a thing is tried 4 8

c. dat. 'in addition to', *πρός τούτοις* 'besides' 10 5; adverbial in compos. 1 23

προσδεῖσθαι 1 23, 4 11

προσειπάτω 8 3

προσέχει 8 7, 11 6

προσιεσθαι *appetere* 1 20

πρόσοδος ἄλυκος 9 9; πρόσοδοι 9 8

προστοικεῖσθαι *sibi arrogare* 2 16

πρόσρησις² *salutatio* 8 3

προστακτέον² 9 3

προστάται πόλεως 11 7

προστατεῖσθαι *regi* 5 1

προστατεύειν πόλεως 11 5, 7

προστάττεσθαι 7 2, 9 4, 10 4

προστιθέναι ἀνάγκην 9 4

προτιθέναι ἄλλα 9 4, 10 4; *PASS.*

9 11; *προτεινόμενος unclassified* for *προκείμενος* 9 11

προτιμᾶσθαι: τοῖς *προτετιμημένοις*)(τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ Ἰσού οὐσί 8 5

προφυλάττειν τινός 6 10

πρώτον *for* πρότερον 4 2

πῶποτε 7 11

πῶς οὐ 6 4

P

ραδιουργεῖν 8 9

ῥώνυσσθαι: ἐρρωμένως 9 7

Σ

σαφής: σαφές 8 2

σίτος: σίτον αἰρεῖσθαι 6 7; σῖτα καὶ ποτά, 'meat and drink' 1 4, 2 1, 4 2, 7 3; τῶν σ. παντοδαπά 1 25

σκέψις 9 9

σκοπεῖν 8 2

σοφίσματα *de ciborum condimentis* 1 23

σοφός)(ἀκρατής 5 2; σοφόν τι 11 10

σπανίζειν 1 14; σπανίσας 1 25

σπονδαί 2 11

στερεῖν: στέρεσθαι *privatum esse, carere*, στερόμενος 6 1; στερηθῶσι 1 12

στεφανοῦν 7 9

στόμα: ἀνὰ σ. ἔχειν 7 9

στρατεία: ὤμεν ἐν σ. 6 9

στρατεύειν 2 8; στρατεύονται 2 9

στρυφνός 1 22

συγκαταμγύναι² τὴν ψυχὴν τινι *lole animo se dedere alicui rei* 6 2

συγχάρειν 5 4, 11 12

συλᾶν ἱερὰ καὶ ἀνθρώπους 4 11

συμβόλαια², τὰ 9 6

συμπαρακολουθεῖν² 6 6

συμπαρέπεσθαι 8 5

συμπαρομαρτεῖν 6 6; c. dat. 9 8

συμπεριάγεσθαι 2 8

συναίρειν: ὡς συνελοντι εἰπεῖν *ut raucis absolvat* 9 10

συναναγκάζεσθαι 3 9

συνεῖναι τινι 1 26, 4 4, 6 2; συνην ἐμαυτῷ 6 2

συνεπικουρεῖν 3 2

συνουσία 4 1

συντάττειν: οἱ συντεταγμένοι 10 7

συντέμνειν τὰς δαπάνας 4 9

σφάλλειν)(σώζειν 10 7; σφάλλεσθαι τι 3 2

σχολή 10 5

σώζειν 10 7; σώζεσθαι 5 3

σωφρονίζειν 10 3

σωφροσύνη 9 8

Τ

ταπεινός 'submissive' 5 4

τάττεσθαι (PASS.) 10 4

τάχος 8 9

τέκνα 11 15

τελείσθαι *impendi* 11 1

τιμᾶν 7 2, 9, 8 3; τιμησόμεαι fut. pass. 9 9

τιμή 7 1, 2, 3; 8 5; 9 7; τὰς τ. 7 4

τιμωρεῖν 4 5; τιμωρήσασθαι 1 12

tis (interrogative): τί οὐ with indic. (present or aor.) to express a command 1 3

tis (enclit.): ποῶς τις 6 7;

τι *aliquantum* 9 9; τι ἥδιον 1 21; θάπτον τι 4 7; μέγα τι 7 1; οὐδέν τι 2 3; οὐδέν τι μάλλον 2 18; τοσοῦτόν τι ἀγαθόν 3 5; καλόν τι 2 16

τοιοῦτος: τὰ τοιαῦτα 1 13, 7 3;

τοὺς τ. 10 25

τρέπεσθαι 9 7; (MED.) τρέψασθαι *fugare* 2 15

τρέφειν ἄρματα 11 5; στράτευμα 4 11; φύλακας 10 4; PASS. 8 10

τρυφή: ἀσθενούσης τρυφῇ ψυχῆς 1 22

τυραννεῖν 7 11; τυραννεῖσθαι (PASS.) 2 11; 6 14

τυραννεύσθαι (PASS.) 2 11

τυραννίς, 5 3, 7 2, 4, 11, 12; 8 1

τύραννος—a ruler whose power is above and against the laws; it is characteristic of him that he rules in his own interest (τὸ ἐαυτοῦ συμφέρον ποιεῖ, Aristot. Eth. Nic. viii 12, 7, Introd. p. xxxix ff.): φιλόπολιν ἀνάγκη τὸν τ. εἶναι 5 3, 8 10; ἀνδρὶ τυράννῳ 11 6

Τ

ὕβριζειν 8 9

ὕβριστός: ὑβριστότερος 10 2

ὕμνεῖν 11 8

ὕπνιστασθαι (ἀπὸ) τοῦ θάκου 7 2, 9

ὕπεξαιρεῖσθαι 5 2

ὕπέρ 'with a view to' 4 3

ὕπερβάλλειν: ὑπερβάλλουσα δα-

πάνη 11 2, τὰ ὑπερβάλλοντα

τὰ ἱκανά 4 8

ὕπερευ² *egregie* 6 9ὕπερέχειν *praestare* 2 2

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Φ

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Ψ

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